

6 *Notes on America 1776*

L E T T E R S

ON THE

AMERICAN TROUBLES;

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF

M. D E P I N T O. *K*



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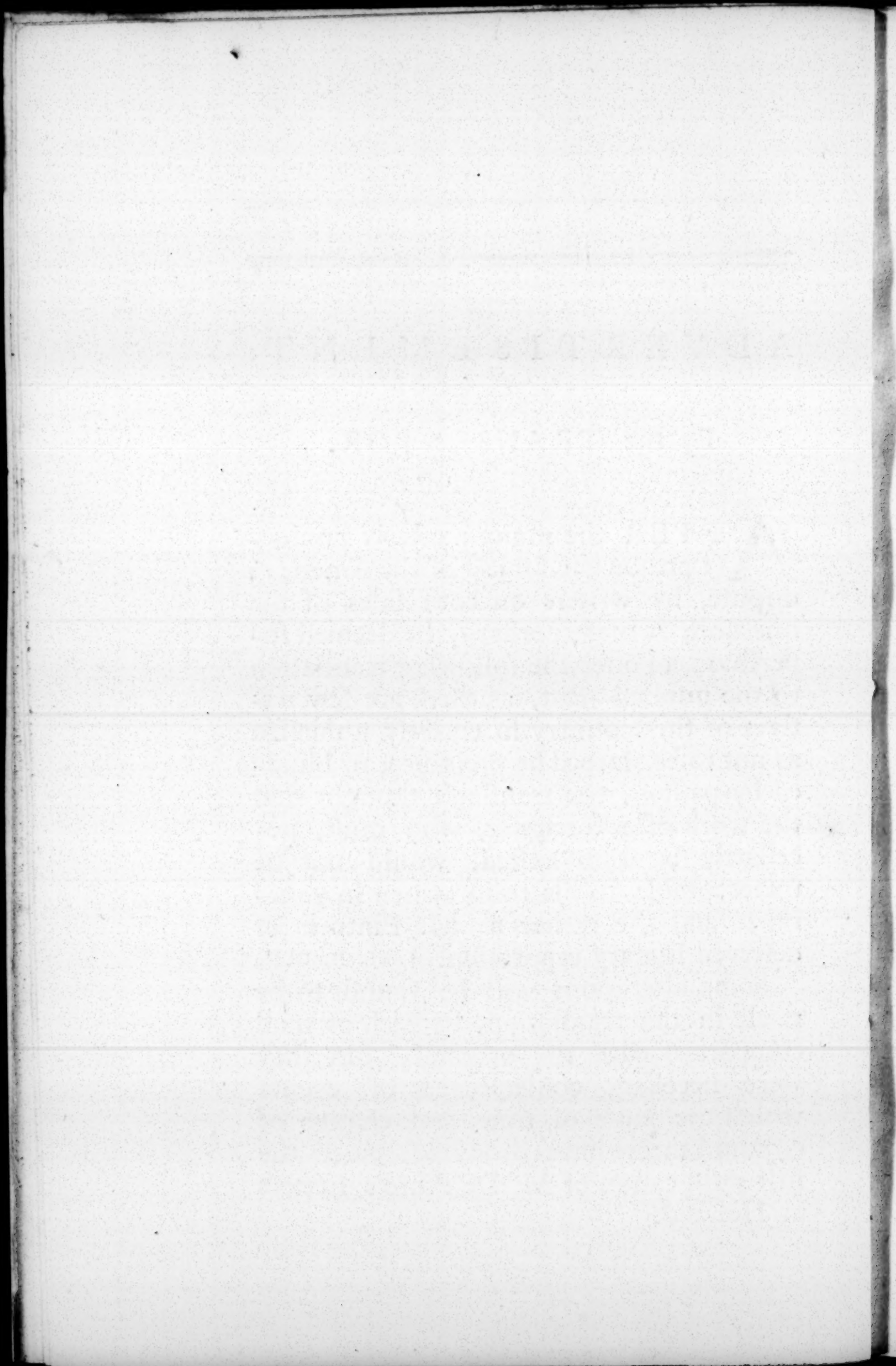
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## ADVERTISEMENT:

By the TRANSLATOR.

**A**FTER the many masterly productions on the subject of the American dispute, by writers on both sides of the question, it may, perhaps, be deemed superfluous to offer the following translation to the public.—But, as there are few natives of this country so entirely unbiaſſed as not to be warped by prejudice, or blinded by paſſion, the translator thought that the work of a foreigner, who muſt, neceſſarily be diſintereſted, would not be unacceptable to his countrymen in general; and the rather as M. Pinto is of deſerved literary reputation.

Some alterations will be found to be made in this translation, by ſuch as ſhall compare it with the original; but they were neceſſary conſequences of events which the lapſe of time, and change of circumſtances have produced, ſince the firſt publication of M. De Pinto's Letters in Holland.



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# A L E T T E R

F R O M

MR. \* \* \* TO MR. S. B.

Physician at Kingston in Jamaica, relative  
to the Troubles which prevail in North-  
America.

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**Y**OU want me, Sir, to tell you, in a few words, my sentiments upon the quarrel of the English Colonies with the Mother Country. You certainly expect that I should give you the reason on which I form these sentiments. This is not an easy matter; *Magnam rem postulasti*. Herewith I send you a pamphlet, containing a detail of the rights of Great-Britain over her Colonies, (a) which will give you a proper view of the affair. This pamphlet is sufficient for such persons as are desirous of just information; but as for those who are blinded by the passions of commercial jealousy, envy, or national prejudices, nothing can ever convince them. You

(a) The Rights of Great-Britain asserted against the Claims of America, being an Answer to the Declaration of the General Congress.

B

would



would hardly imagine what a sophistical jumble of words has been invented by such persons on this occasion.

I do not intend saying any thing on the indisputable right, which the English Parliament has to tax America. Sovereignty, as well as the legislative power, must exist somewhere; and the British Empire knows none, according to its constitution, but what proceeds from the three estates of the kingdom. There are masterly pieces of writing on this subject: I will, therefore, confine myself to those facts, the knowledge of which has led me to make some political reflections, highly interesting to sovereigns as well as subjects, to humanity in general, and all the civilized nations of Europe in particular.

I look upon the following facts as established truths.

1st. That the manner in which the English Colonies have increased in less than a century, is a political phenomenon which has no precedent.

2d. That they owe their progress not only to the peculiar lenity of the English Government, the nature of their soil and climate, but also to the indulgence, and above all to the generosity of the Mother Country: for a proof of this I must beg leave to refer you to the several acts of parliament, by which, from time to time, have been granted to them, in bounties and other encouragements, above six millions sterling, in order to promote their agriculture, commerce, and other establishments. A munificence this, unknown before in the annals of history.

3d. That

3d. That government expended in North America, to defend the Colonies against foreign invasions, more than thirty-four millions sterling, is evident by abstracts from the treasury accounts.

*N. B.* The succours furnished by the Americans have been more than repaid.

4th. That the English Nation enriches the Colonies by its commerce, more than it is enriched by them. This nation doth every thing nobly and on a large scale: ask the inhabitants of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Cuba, (a) and Canada; you will find them all to agree on this head.

5th. That according to the confession of the Americans themselves, they paid some small taxes which concerned their trade alone. Nevertheless it has been proved that they likewise paid, from their first establishments, other small taxes, but they were all together so easy and moderate, that there is no example of the kind in any other kingdom or republic whatever. So that the American subjects of Great Britain never paid in taxes the proportion of one thirty-sixth of what was paid by all the other subjects of that empire.

6th. That the emblem of two oxen yoked together to a plough, with the exergue *æquo Jugo*, is a sacred motto, dictated by Justice and Equity.

7th. That a social contract cannot be binding, or even subsist, if all the advantages be on one side, and all the burthen on the other. The trivial restrictions relative to the trade of the

(a) The author here refers to the last war, when the French islands, and the Havannah were in our possession.



Colonies, and the navigation-act, are just and constitutional; nor can so small an object be put on a parallel with the many real advantages which the colonies enjoy.

8th. That the stamp-duty adopted in almost every civilized country, disquieted the people of Massachuset's-Bay, and in contempt of the laws, of every principle of order, of justice, and of duty, they, instead of making legal remonstrances, plundered and burnt the stamp-paper, and insulted the officers of the legislature a thousand ways.

9th. That parliament had condescended to repeal that act, because it was said to be hurtful to trade; for the Americans, at that time, did not question the right of parliament to tax them. It ought to be remembered, that Mr. Grenville told them, that if they chose to tax themselves, it would be consented to, on an equitable footing. This important point demands some historical details. It appears, by a letter from Mr. Grenville to Mr. Pownal, on the subject of the stamp-act, that the Americans might have had representatives, or used any other means of taxing themselves. That minister did not only propose this scheme, but even recommended it warmly. It was in March, 1764, that the commons approved of the tax on stamps, and were convinced of its being easy to be carried into execution, but delay'd giving this resolution the force of a law, for the express reason of granting a sufficient time to the Colonies, to propose some other mode of taxation, equally productive. The agents for the Colonies, both separately and in a body,  
held



held conferences with the minister on this subject, and one of them has declared that he heard Mr. Grenville express himself in the following manner.

“ At the beginning of the war (said that  
 “ minister) we were loaded with a debt of se-  
 “ venty millions, which at the end of it was  
 “ increased to about one hundred and forty  
 “ millions. (a) The civil and military establish-  
 “ ments, formed after the peace of Aix la Cha-  
 “ pelle, amounted only to seventy thousand  
 “ pounds sterling, and are now risen as high  
 “ as three hundred and fifty thousand. This  
 “ additional expence of two hundred and forty  
 “ thousand pounds was incurred for the Ame-  
 “ ricans. Mr. Grenville added, that he did  
 “ not expect the Colonies should raise the whole  
 “ sum, but only furnish part of it ; that the  
 “ stamp-tax appeared to him the fairest way of  
 “ doing it, and the least expensive in the col-  
 “ lecting ; that nevertheless, he was not so pre-  
 “ possessed in its favour, but that he would  
 “ prefer any other mode which the colonies might  
 “ point out of taxing themselves.” Upon the  
 refusal of some, and the equivocal answer of  
 others, he forewarned them, that if they did  
 not tax themselves, as had been hinted to them,  
 parliament would tax them. These circum-  
 stances have much puzzled opposition, which  
 has affected to be ignorant of them. (b)

(a) This debt has been reduced since the peace to less than an hundred and twenty-eight millions, notwithstanding the affair of Falkland Island, and of the Colonies.

(b) Vide Acts relative to the Colonies, p. 248 to 306.  
 10th.

10th. That the lenity of this proceeding, and the impunity with which they committed their first excesses, which well deserved the name of crimes, imboldened them to commit still greater; by conspiring against their lawful sovereign.

11th. That this audacious spirit discovered itself when, by a second concession, government abolished some small taxes which had been laid on tin, white lead, &c. leaving only in force a trifling duty on tea, as an object of luxury and of trade, and even this, not until they had suppressed a much more considerable duty on it, in England.

12th. That the Americans forgot themselves so far as to destroy, in several places, and at several times, the property of others, by burning the tea, as if they were to have been forced to drink it. This outrage, surely, differs in nothing from those of footpads or highwaymen.

13th. That the forbearance of government, arising partly from the nature of the English constitution, and partly from other causes, still continued to be exercised towards rebels so unnatural, which afforded them time to arm themselves, and to render more difficult, more expensive, more ruinous, and more destructive, the indispensable means which reason, justice, policy, the dignity of the crown, and the honour of the nation required to be made use of, in order to bring them back to their duty.

14th. The Colonies in general, or some of them in particular, may, perhaps, have some grievances, well-founded, which require amendment. This has induced ministry often to declare,



clare, that if the Americans made any fair proposals, they should have all attention paid to them, and every means used to satisfy them, provided they acknowledged the supremacy of the Mother Country; but they never made any propositions, (at least before the commencement of hostilities) which did not tend to independency.

15th. Taxation being the first cause of their discontent, leave was granted them to tax themselves; and they were given to understand that those taxes should be appropriated for their defence and security, and spent amongst them.

16th. Moderate taxes are as necessary to the well-being of a country, as their excess is dangerous. To stand up, therefore, against moderate ones is folly. Independently of its absurdity, the inconveniencies arising from it, are a thousand times more dangerous. Had the Americans submitted to the easy taxes imposed upon them, they would have continued the happiest people under heaven.—They were free.—They enjoyed an advantageous trade; they had no enemies but the winds and waves. By their unnatural rebellion, they have lost their commerce, they are exposed to all the horrors of a civil war, and the authors of their revolt tyrannise over them, by loading them with arbitrary taxes, depriving them of their liberty, forcing them to give their specie for paper, and exercising, without mercy, the most oppressive vexations.

17th. The legislative power may abolish or alter ancient laws, but it remains yet to be proved that the Mother Country has used this power



with her Colonies, in relation to their charters, unless forfeited by rebellions.

18th. Charters granted by the Kings of England, have not the force of law without the sanction of parliament, and, therefore, cannot exempt from parliamentary taxation: it is exactly as if the Colonies of Surinam and Berbice (a) were to refuse paying the tax levied by their High Mightinesses, under the pretence that some of the ancient Princes of Orange had exempted them from it. But still this is not a case in point, the British Colonies never have been denied representatives in parliament. They never required to have them. Besides, they are in that particular on the same footing with three-fourths of the inhabitants of Great-Britain: and again, each member of parliament represents virtually and potentially, the whole nation; whose interest he ought to defend. After all, instead of being taxed by parliament, they might have had leave to tax themselves.

19th. All those who have been in the ministry since the beginning of the quarrel, whether Whigs or Tories, have alike followed the same principles in relation to the colonies. The present system, far from extending the royal prerogative, only supports the national cause, and those who at this time are in the opposition, thought and acted like the present ministry, when they were at the head of affairs.

(a) Two settlements of the Dutch on the Continent of South America.

20th. The inhabitants of the Colonies when in England, may give their votes for members of parliament, if qualified, and are equally eligible to be chosen members themselves, of which there are several examples.

21st. There can be no true liberty, where there is no subordination.

22nd. It naturally follows, from the facts above mentioned, that the British Parliament and Ministry, far from having exceeded the bounds of their just rights over the Colonies, have kept much within the line of their legal powers; and those who are unacquainted with the constitution, and the peculiar circumstances in which they found themselves, might blame them greatly, not for what they have done, but for what they have omitted doing. Any other nation, less powerful and haughty than the English, would, with great reason, have been suspected of pusillanimity, of timidity, and of weakness. But, on this head, I shall tell you my sentiments in another letter. The facts above enumerated are of public notoriety, and any one ignorant of them may easily convince himself of their reality; but as for such as those, who, after examination, deny them, they do not deserve to be reasoned with, being either enthusiasts, or else some of those ambidexter minds—*qui candida in nigrum, vertunt*. Their abuse of terms, and continual begging of the question, have misled many people, who have suffered themselves to be dazzled by their prophanation of the sacred name of liberty, and of the good faith of charters, which they make use of to mask their endeavours to accom-  
C plish

plish the overthrow of order and true liberty, which must naturally follow from their principles of anarchy, of tyranny, and of despotism, their aim being to inspire enthusiasm, on account of the easy transition from fanaticism to slavery. In a word, it is the temper of Oliver Cromwell, which has unhappily taken root, and germinated in the wilds of America.

Let us now come to the political reflections which have occurred to me, on examination of the above-mentioned facts, and which I promised you at the beginning of this letter.

And first let it be remarked, to the honour of the present age, that our modern philosophers have of late succeeded in their endeavours to instil a spirit of humanity, of toleration, and of moderation, which has even made its way into the cabinets of princes. Maxims opposite to arbitrary and tyrannical principles have generally been adopted. Machiavelism is no more.—That atrocious doctrine, which at the beginning of this century still misled the ministers of a mild and just nation, is banished for ever. You will easily understand that I speak of those gloomy and crooked politics which tended to oppress the husbandman, the artificer, and the people in general, in order to prevent revolts, and to render them more industrious. We begin to be sensible that states or sovereigns are only powerful proportionably as their subjects are happy, easy in their circumstances, and free: That the many ought not to be sacrificed to the few, that civil and religious liberty is a natural right. States may be different, but men as men are all equals.

A citizen



A citizen ought to fear the laws alone, but then he ought at all times to observe, and to reverence.

These maxims, and several others of the same kind, began to make their way universally; but unhappily, partly by the abuse of them, and partly by the falsely applying them, the utility which might be derived from such principles is not only eluded, but they are made subservient to designs the most contrary to their nature. Thus doth error often mislead, by borrowing a specious appearance of truth.—Nor is this all: but what are still more dangerous, more melancholy, and more to be dreaded, are the consequences fatal to humanity, which in process of time the herd of subaltern politicians (which infest the palaces of princes and the cabinets of ministers) will draw from the example of the English colonies. This is the specious language we may suppose they will hold.—“ All those precepts of humanity, “ moderation, and liberty, are only the seeds of “ rebellion, disorder, and anarchy: it is a false “ theory, of which experience shews us the “ utility.

“ Spain (it will be said) has possessed vast “ kingdoms in America, for near three centuries “ past, and in all that time, there has hardly “ been a serious example of a revolt: if there “ were any small commotions, they were smothered at their birth.—The case is clear.—The “ old maxims were followed,—the colonies kept “ low, and, after the example given by Tarquin, “ the poppies which rose above their fellows were “ lopped off. Their progress, it is true, was “ not so rapid, but possession was better secured; “ instead

“ instead of which, the English (will they add)  
 “ with their madness for liberty, and their ridi-  
 “ culous prodigality, have fostered up ungrate-  
 “ ful monsters to sting their bosoms. This is  
 “ the natural consequence of their forsaking the  
 “ true principles of the ancient system of poli-  
 “ ticks.”

Such specious reasoning, supported by so strik-  
 ing an example, may, very likely, in process of  
 time, seduce sovereigns and the great, generally  
 too much disposed to make use of it; then will  
 it be said, with the poet,

*La justice n'est pas une vertu d'état.*

*Le droit des Rois consiste à ne rien épargner :  
 La timide équité détruit l'art de regner, &c.*

What then will become of sovereigns and of  
 their people? despotism and tyranny, with all  
 the evils that result from them, will establish  
 themselves on the wreck of true liberty, and of  
 the principles of humanity and sound policy,  
 which it has cost so much to rear up. Contrary  
 maxims will be authorized and justified from the  
 example of the English Colonies, compared to  
 other colonies, with whom a different conduct  
 has been held. The wise and moderate, the  
 friends of humanity, and the favourers of liberty  
 will not dare to lift up their heads, but will la-  
 ment in secret the misfortunes of their cotempo-  
 raries. Some will be even weak enough to doubt  
 the truth of principles, the abuse of which alone  
 will be the cause of the misfortunes then to be  
 3 deplored.



deplored. Behold, ye Americans, or rather ye abettors of their bad cause, behold the evils to which you expose this age; behold what evils you entail on posterity! Yes, on posterity! You assassinate, by your fallacious arguments, future generations; you put the dagger in the hands of tyrants; you arm the strong against the weak; you root from the hearts of princes, the seeds of virtue, moderation, and humanity; and, as the weak must always fall before the strong, the number of your victims will be infinite. I have said enough on the subject for those who are capable of understanding reason, and too much for such as would affect not to comprehend this plain logic, in which humanity is so much interested.

I declare that my reasons are not addressed to the English nation; those who understand your language, (I say yours, because you have been naturalized) know more on the subject than I do. I wish to be able to set right those foreigners who have suffered themselves to be seduced by the false assertions of the Americans. Those I mean free from prejudices, for (I repeat it) as to such as are jealous, envious, or so unhappy as to have a national antipathy, they never hearken to reason. To stop the clamour of such, let them only be asked, how they would argue if their own colonies were to imitate the conduct of the Americans? let them also be exhorted to examine, with impartiality, in what manner all other colonies have been, and from necessity and circumstances still are treated, let them, I say, compare this treatment with the proceedings of Great Britain towards her colonies. This will furnish



furnish ample matter for reflection ; and if they reflect more, they will, consequently, talk less. The feelings of the heart, reason, understanding, and conscience will give the lie to the vain declamations they affect, in order to asperse the conduct of the English ministry.

After you shall have perused the pamphlet on the rights of Great Britain over her Colonies, read the remarks on the principal acts of the 13th parliament, by the author of *Letters concerning the present State of Poland*. He is a writer of the highest reputation ; as impartial as sincere : he censures, but with decency, some steps of government, and of the 13th parliament, relative to the nature and form of their plans. You will find in these letters, an abstract of all the charters : you will, with ease, travel through this crooked meander, and the labyrinth which it forms of jurisprudence. You will see clearly that the charters do not (as it is pretended) favour the claims of the Colonies. Maryland and Pennsylvania excepted, they were originally granted to corporations, the heads of which resided in the Mother Country. Exemption from taxes was granted only for a limited time ; and according to this author, the monarchs granting such exemption, could only act as procurators. You will see the difference betwixt internal and external taxes. You will plainly discover the absurdity of making taxation inseparable from representation, a maxim which neither hath nor ever can exist in any country. In Great Britain the security of the people at large, in relation to taxation, results entirely from the many powerful landholders who  
are

are members of the house of commons, and who would suffer the most if oppressive and unjust taxes were once established ; and this constitutes the excellence of the British constitution. You will remark the abuse made of some passages of Mr. Locke ; and the absurdity of the consequences drawn from them by the lawyers who defend the cause of the colonies, will strike you most forcibly.

You will also perceive how much some of the Colonies would be to be pitied, if the letter of their favourite charters were strictly adhered to. You will likewise find in these letters a detail of all the circumstances relative to the stamp-act, which I mentioned before.

You will find by the chronological history of the Colonies from their first settlement, which is contained in these letters, the supremacy of parliament established, even during the time of the Stuarts ; this is proved incontestibly not only as to fact, but also as to right ; a doctrine which has been at all times maintained by the asserters of liberty, and of the British constitution : this analytical history of the charters, is as amusing as it is interesting.

You will see, with a pleasure mingled with astonishment, the paternal attention of parliament towards the Colonies ; since, even when it required of them some just retributions, they have always been more or less indemnified, by new advantages granted to them : lately (for example) when on the repeal of the stamp-act (which by the bye ought never to have been repealed) a small duty had been laid, on glass,  
morocco,

morocco, white lead, dyeing drugs, tea, and paper, in order to defray the expences of the administration of justice and of the civil government of the Colonies; Government, on the other hand, granted them, as a compensation, some new bounties on the exportation of coffee and cocoa-nuts of their own growth. Observe, likewise, that all the before-mentioned taxes were suppressed on their remonstrating that they were hurtful to trade, except one of three-pence per pound on tea; taking off, at the same time, one shilling per pound of the duty to which the said tea was subject on its exportation from the kingdom; so that, in fact, the above small tax was rather a relief than a charge, since that very article had been exonerated of four times the amount of the new duty laid upon it. Hear what Dean Tucker saith on the subject, in his letter from a merchant in London to his nephew in America.

—“ If there be any partiality to be complained of in the conduct of the British parliament,  
 “ it will appear to be a partiality in favour of the  
 “ Colonies, and against the Mother Country.  
 “ Do you demand my authority for this assertion?  
 “ tion? I will give it you:—The statutes of  
 “ the realm are my authority, and surely you  
 “ cannot demand a better. By these, then, it  
 “ will appear, that a Colonist, who is consequently subordinate to the Mother Country, in  
 “ the very nature of things, is nevertheless put  
 “ upon a better footing, in many respects, than  
 “ an inhabitant of Great Britain. By these it  
 “ will appear, that the parliament, like an over-  
 “ in-



“ indulgent parent of his favourite froward child,  
 “ hath been continually heaping favours upon  
 “ you, of which we are not permitted to taste.  
 “ Thus, for example, you have your choice, whe-  
 “ ther you will accept of my price for your to-  
 “ bacco, or after bringing it here, whether you  
 “ will carry it away, and try your fortune at ano-  
 “ ther market: but I have no alternative allowed,  
 “ being obliged to buy yours at your own price;  
 “ or else to pay such a duty for the tobacco of  
 “ other countries, as must amount to a prohibi-  
 “ tion. Nay, in order to favour your plantati-  
 “ ons, I am not permitted to plant this herb on  
 “ my own estate, though the soil should be ever  
 “ so proper for it. Again, the same choice,  
 “ and the same alternative are allowed to you,  
 “ and denied to me in regard to rice; with this  
 “ additional advantage, that in many respects  
 “ you need not bring it into England at all, un-  
 “ less you are so minded. And what will you  
 “ say in relation to hemp? The parliament now  
 “ give you a bounty of 8l. per ton for export-  
 “ ing your hemp from North America; but  
 “ will allow me nothing for growing it here  
 “ in England; nay, will tax me very severe-  
 “ ly for fetching it from any other coun-  
 “ try, though it be an article most essentially  
 “ necessary for all the purposes of shipping and  
 “ navigation. Moreover, in respect to the cul-  
 “ ture of raw silk, you have an immense parlia-  
 “ mentary premium for that purpose; and you  
 “ receive further encouragements from our soci-  
 “ ety for arts and sciences, which is continually  
 “ adding fresh rewards: but I can receive no

“ encouragement either from the one, or from  
 “ the other, to bear my expences at first setting  
 “ out, though most undeniably the white mul-  
 “ berry-trees can thrive as well on my grounds  
 “ as they can in Switzerland, Brandenburg,  
 “ Denmark or Sweden, where vast quantities are  
 “ now raising. Take another instance: Why  
 “ shall not I be permitted to buy pitch, tar,  
 “ and turpentine,—without which I cannot put  
 “ my ships to sea;—and indigo, so useful in  
 “ manufactures; why shall I not be permitted to  
 “ purchase these articles wherever I can, the best  
 “ in their kind, and on the best terms?—No, I  
 “ shall not; for though they are all raw materi-  
 “ als, which, therefore, ought to have been im-  
 “ ported duty free, yet I am restrained by an  
 “ heavy duty, almost equal to a prohibition,  
 “ from purchasing them any where but from  
 “ you :—whereas you, on the contrary, are paid  
 “ a bounty for selling these very articles, at the  
 “ only market in which you could sell them to  
 “ advantage, viz. the English. (a)

“ Much more might have been said on this  
 “ subject, and the like observations might have  
 “ been extended to the sugar-colonies: but I  
 “ forbear. For indeed enough has been said  
 “ already (and as it exposes our partiality and  
 “ infatuation a little severely, perhaps too much)  
 “ in order to prove to the world, that of all peo-  
 “ ple upon earth, you have the least reason to

(a) Those who have not the statutes at large, may see  
 the things here referred to, and many others of the like  
 sort, in Crouch's or Saxby's book of rates.

“ complain.” See four tracts on political and commercial subjects. Third edition, page 119 and following.

In return for all these favours, the Colonies have for more than 25 years past been continually guilty of smuggling, even in time of war; their most sordid covetousness carrying them to the enormity of assisting the enemies of their country. (a)

You see, therefore, that it was not the stamp-act, but rather the repealing of it, which has been the cause of the present unhappy troubles: opposition, and the pompous sophistry of its advocates has turned the heads of the Americans.

You will admire the clear and decisive manner in which Mr. Lind has disproved two accusations most impudently brought against parliament, at the time that the port of Boston was shut up, because the Bostonians had burned the tea, and treated in the most indecent and atrocious manner the servants of government. They were condemned, it was said, without being heard, and the innocent were involved in punishment with the guilty: just as if, independently of the fact itself, there needed any other proof of general guilt than this public outrage, contrived and supported by the majority of the Bostonians. It is true that the immediate perpetrators of these criminal acts were masked; but their instigators and abettors have publickly justified and ap-

(a) See on this head the excellent History of Jamaica lately published.



proved of these enormous excesses, and protected the committers of them.

The author, after having judicially proved the futility of this ridiculous accusation, finishes, by observing that the intention of parliament in the act in question was not to make either the innocent or the guilty suffer; but it supposed that those who were not stained by the commission of a crime, till then unheard of, and of so black a dye, would have united their endeavours to compel the guilty to make some reparation for the wrongs they had done, by a dutiful submission to the laws. If the Bostonians had conducted themselves in this manner, as it was their duty to have done, there would have been no punishment; but as they have not seconded the designs of the legislature, they can none of them be considered as innocent. After a full justification of the Boston port bill, our author censures several of the subsequent acts of parliament; in which he finds defects that might easily have been amended. But all these subsequent acts, save one, have since been repealed; the Quebec act being the only one of them remaining in force.

Our author next shews, from the capitulation agreed upon by General Amherst and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the justice of allowing the principal advantages granted to the Canadians by the Quebec bill; although, in some particulars of the act, he finds some essential omissions.

After duly considering all that has been alleged and proved in the three works above cited, it must be allowed that the war which his  
Britannic

Britannic Majesty is obliged to wage against the rebellious Colonies, is at once the most unavoidable, and the most just that ever was undertaken; and if some of the provinces of North America should, in process of time, lose the advantages which they have hitherto enjoyed—advantages which were still increasing, the fault will be their own, and they will have none to blame for their misfortunes but themselves.

If any one, therefore, after having read the three tracts which I have mentioned, can still defend the conduct of the Colonies, we must give him our pity, and charitably suppose that it proceeds from the weakness of his head, and not from the wickedness of his heart.

P. S. It is with pleasure that I have complied with the desire, which several worthy persons have expressed, of seeing this letter in print; to serve as an antidote against the poison contained in a paper published under the title of *A Summary of the Disagreements which have happened between Great Britain and her Colonies*. A piece not only abounding in the most palpable falsehoods, the most subtil sophistry, and deceitful notions; but the author likewise thinks himself authorized to become the echo of the American ringleaders. He has the impudence to carry his indecency so far, as to insult a monarch, known to be one of the most upright men of his kingdom, and the sovereign the most pious and generous, that ever filled the throne: and he calumniates, with as much grossness as injustice, a great and respectable nation.

In

In England, where the abuse of the press is carried to an enormous length, these party-pieces do less mischief than elsewhere. The English, in the long-run, always see their own interest: they look upon the abuse of the ministry as a necessary evil, productive of a greater good. It is esteemed a curb upon the ministers.—The extreme is made use of, to preserve the equilibrium. Besides these, the sophistry of party is so ably refuted, that, after a certain time, almost every body in England (and perhaps by this time in America likewise) is convinced of the truth. The greatest part of the English nation acknowledge the guilt of the Colonies; and opposition is reduced to a small number of individuals. It is different in foreign parts;—the English tongue is not understood—the refutations of party declamations are neither translated nor known—consequently many become easy dupes of the fallacious arguments made use of by the advocates for the Colonies. Such writings as I have been reprobating, may occasion still greater evils to mankind, by involving Europe in fresh wars—It is the wish of the Colonies, and of their abettors—But, happily, Providence has placed on the throne of France a young monarch, who, in the dawn of his reign, exhibits all the virtues which adorned a Titus and an Antoninus—who is served by illustrious ministers, worthy of so great a monarch.—There are also in France too many wise and enlightened persons, to suffer the nation to be misled by those flattering enthusiasts, who think they prove themselves great patriots, by declaiming against the English nation. Such writings



writings have formerly been the cause of great misfortunes, by misleading the European powers, with their flattering fallacies. The wise, the true children of liberty, detest the apologists of anarchy and confusion; those political incendiaries, who, under the mask of that liberty which they violate, kindle, on all sides, the flames of war and of discord.

LETTER

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## LETTER THE SECOND,

From Mr. DE PINTO,

Relative to the Troubles of the Colonies,  
containing political Reflections on the  
Consequences of those Troubles, and  
on the present State of Great Britain.

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*Hague, February 5th, 1776.*

I AM very glad, my dear Sir, that the perusal of my letter, on the affair of the English Colonies, has opened your eyes, and destroyed the prejudices which made you think favourably of the rebels: you acknowledge that they are a set of ungrateful and fanatical people, who, far from fighting for liberty, are forging for themselves the fetters of slavery. You ask me, why and how it came to pass that things were suffered to come to this extremity? Why the consequences of this dispute were not foreseen whilst there was yet time to prevent them? You cannot, you say, overcome your astonishment, that the English government should have suffered itself to be so much deceived. This is the first article, of which you are desirous I should give you some explanations. The thing, altho' difficult,

cult, is not impossible, and I will try to satisfy you. Your second request is still more difficult; you want to know my sentiments on the consequences and end which this melancholy, this unhappy war may have. This article, my dear Sir, regards Providence; and its eternal decrees ought not to be incroached upon. We are, however, permitted to hazard some conjectures, founded on probabilities, and on political combinations; which few people are capable of making, and in which the wisest are often mistaken.

I shall then lay before you some conjectural probabilities; without, however, depending too much upon them, for time alone can shew how true they may prove. And as I shall extend them beyond the present era, they may perhaps awaken and engage abler politicians than I am, to use their endeavours to retard, or totally prevent the evils which threaten Europe from the side of America.

I must also observe to you, that to be able to form a true judgment on this important matter, one ought to be well acquainted with the real state of England, with her resources, finances, and her commerce; what other markets she may have for her manufactures and staple commodities, independently of America, without forgetting the English possessions in the East Indies; which last is an object of great weight in the balance of the finances of Great Britain. The commerce of Asia is closely connected with that of America; the reverberation of their influence is reciprocal. I shall, therefore, rather enlarge on this article, and at the same time give you

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my sentiments on the affairs of India in general. I look upon this object as one of the most interesting.

I cannot, also, avoid repeating in this letter, what I formerly said relative to the national debt; it is the rock on which politicians split—the apocalyptic text, upon which they have often made comments which time has always disproved. I am persuaded that England will soon give us fresh proofs that the energy of her power is not the least weakened by the national debt. This pretended burden appears to lay the heaviest on the shoulders of her adversaries. It will, therefore, be necessary to attack, once more, this prejudice, and to repeat things which are found elsewhere. I shall be in the same case respecting what relates to commerce in general. It is commonly believed that the trading nations are rivals, because their interests are opposite; I have maintained the contrary opinion. The application of my principles on that head are necessary to my system, touching the actual state of England, and of all Europe, with respect to the American colonies. It is necessary to combine these different objects together, and be sensible of their several affinity, in order to be less liable to mistakes in our own conjectures on the event of this war. These discussions will naturally engage me in others no less interesting, relative to the connections betwixt Great Britain and Holland, in respect to their trade in the East and West Indies, and other interests; happy if warned by the past, all mercantile disputes, so detrimental to both parties, could be totally prevented. This is the

general plan of the following letter, or rather small treatise, which I shall call, if you please, my Political Testament, or, Reflections on the actual state of Great Britain, relative to the War with her Colonies.

If you have not courage enough to peruse all these details, and to examine closely the connection and affinity which these objects bear one to the other; do not take the trouble of reading this letter—it would tire, without instructing you.

I begin, then, with the first article of your enquiries.

No body doubts, that five or six years ago it would have been possible to smother this revolt, at a quarter of the expence it will now cost. But the constitution of the English government, and the circumstances that result from it, did not permit it. I am, with the President Montesquieu, and several other famous writers, a great stickler for the English government. But as imperfection is inseparable from humanity, that constitution, excellent as it is, has, nevertheless, in the infinite combination of political accidents, some great inconveniences. The philosopher of Fernel has depicted it with a stroke of his masterly pencil, in those fine verses of the *Henriade*, where he speaks of the three united powers which form the parliament, (a) and has characterized it

(a) Aux murs de Westminster on voit paroître ensemble  
Trois pouvoirs étonnés du nœud qui les rassemble;

it by these words, *dangereux a lui même, a ses voisins terrible* (dangerous to itself, terrible to its neighbours). This never was more verified than in the present critical time. The plan of the constitution is admirable ; I could say divine ; but the onset of the human passions counteract, often, the views of the primitive legislature. Nevertheless, to judge from events, at least until this time, it may be asserted that the advantages have so far exceeded the inconveniences, that the kingdom of Great Britain has made greater progress, by the energy of its constitution, than any other empire whatever ; without excepting that of the Romans. Even the faults of this constitution, correct other faults. The influence of government, which often is wrongfully denominated corruption, and which, perhaps, sometimes borders upon it, puts an end to public commotions ; and, I may say, prevents anarchy ; and gives energy to the whole : witness the excesses that we have lately seen in London, where those transient convulsions have been appeased by the wise measures of parliament, and not by any principle of venality and corruption. That *ardor civium prava jubentium*

Les députés du peuple, & les grands, & le roi,  
Divisés d'intérêts, réunis par la loi :  
Tous trois membres sacrés de ce corps invincible,  
Dangereux a lui même, a ses voisins terribles.  
Heureux lorsque le peuple, instruit de son devoir,  
Respecte autant qu'il doit, le souverain pouvoir !  
Plus heureux lorsqu' un roi, doux juste & politique,  
Respecte, autant qu'il doit, la liberté publique !

HENRIADE, Chant. I.

appears



appears no where so alarming as in London, and is no where less dangerous. But in the infinite combination of political events, circumstances and accidents may be so united as to increase the influence of corruption, against the interest of the nation ; which may be the case, also, with licentiousness, that still more dangerous evil ; either of which causes may overturn the constitution, or, at least, make it come short of the ends of its institution ; from whence, in process of time, the fall of the British empire may result.

These two extremes counterpoise each other, and are corrected one by the other. If ever either prevails entirely, all will be lost. But I do not see that it is yet the case : I even consider it as a far distant event.

The inconveniencies which have lately been felt, may be attributed to the following causes.

Riches have prodigiously increased in England, within half a century ; there is now, in that kingdom, a greater number than formerly of people of the first class, who are by their birth, riches, and understanding entitled to fill the principal places in the ministry, and to enjoy the advantages belonging to them. It is, however, impossible that they should all be employed. Hence arises an opposition, which is the result of particular interests, totally independent of the public cause. But then, this is, in reality, a double curb upon the ministry. Every thing is sifted to the bottom, and analysed in the severest manner : and it is certain that the government, howsoever preponderant it may appear to be, would infallibly

infallibly lose the majority in the commons, if it attempted to take any steps really unconstitutional, and contrary to the liberty of the public. Thus, notwithstanding all the declamations against the pretended venality of the lower house, there has been several examples of the ministry losing the majority, when any important points have been discussed ; such, for example, as the excise bill, and other objects of that nature. For it is to be observed, that although the three estates form the legislation, yet, according to the nature of things, and from recent experience, that very parliament is sometimes, if not of right, at least of fact, subject to a kind of controul from the nation : which serves still more to counterbalance the influence of the ministers, and their majority in parliament : this double curb, this double defence, may one day, if it should prove necessary, hinder the crown from invading the rights of the nation. But, until now, except in relation to the excise bill, it has only served as a handle, which opposition has made use of against the ministry, in things that were indifferent in themselves, and even right, such as the naturalization bill, the cider act, the Middlesex election, &c.

There are, then, moments in which the authority, influence, and subtile reasoning of opposition, seduce the nation for a time, perplex the ministers, throw numberless difficulties in the execution of their plans, and make them lose the favourable moment ; which never happens without bad consequences ensuing from it.

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The frequent change of ministers is always dangerous. An indifferent plan executed with vigour, is preferable to a better, which is began too late, and carried on slowly. This is exactly what has happened in the affair in question: Mr. Grenville's plan was well laid—The stamp-act a plausible scheme, and generally acknowledged such, notwithstanding the sophistry of the Americans. If that minister had not been turned out, he would probably have carried it into execution; and the more likely, as it was the year that the troops were to be recalled from America, and others sent in their stead. He had contrived to send over the troops that were to replace those in duty there; and by their reunion, at this juncture, without the appearance of threats, there would have been forces sufficient to prevent a revolt. By his overthrow, occasioned most likely by the hatred which the nation bore him, on account of the cider-tax, his plan was rendered abortive, through that erroneous doctrine of doing better than well. In truth, the only aim was to turn out Mr. Grenville: the Colonies and the stamp-act, served as a cloak on this occasion. The repeal of this act was necessarily to be defended by sophisms in favour of the Americans; sophisms which naturally have encouraged them in their rebellion. Those of the opposition who succeeded in the ministry, have, in their turn, found themselves in the greatest perplexity; and, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, they have not been able to act consistently; for at the same time that the stamp-act was condemned, the supremacy of parliament  
and



and right of taxation were strenuously insisted upon, which exactly made the apology of what they wanted to stigmatize. By this manœuvre the Americans had time to arm themselves; they were even encouraged in their revolt, without any fear of the consequences. Their abettors in England, thought they could stop them at their will—they have found themselves mistaken. The minister which succeeded had no choice left; and his conduct has been prudent, moderate, and equitable. The circumstances in which he found himself, duly considered, he could not act with vigour. 1st, Because opposition had infected part of the nation with prejudices in favour of the Americans. 2d, Because the public had been insidiously alarmed by threats of the loss of its commerce and manufactures, if coercive or rigorous measures were used against the Colonies. It was, therefore, necessary to let time and the facts themselves demonstrate how ill-grounded these alarms were. 3d, Time and some unequivocal and dreadful events were likewise wanted to verify the rebellion of the Colonies, and to shelter government from all suspicion of tyranny or arbitrary proceedings; epithets which opposition often bestows very liberally. If it is allowable to compare serious things with jocular ones, government perhaps found itself in relation to the English nation, as the wife of Orgon, in the comedy of the Imposter, did in relation to her husband; she was obliged to suffer the most audacious and criminal outrages to convince Orgon of the perfidy of Tartuffe: part of the English nation would

would not believe the infidelity of the Colonies ; the minister could not have obtained such efficacious means, if the rebellion had not been so very notorious.

4th. The ministers have been imposed upon, or misinformed relatively to the real state of affairs. Lord North has acknowledged it openly in the house of commons. But he very justly observed at the same time, that had it been otherwise, and had government the session before, that is in 1775, asked for only thirty thousand men, the ministry would have been laughed at, and ridiculed. What further more justifies, in my opinion, that appearance of supineness, is, that besides the aforesaid reasons, the ministers have received repeated assurances from a great number of prudent persons, inhabitants of New York, of Pennsylvania, and of all the other Colonies, who were to declare in favour of government. Besides, it could not be supposed that after the liberty the parliament had granted to the Americans, of taxing themselves, and the promises of remedying their pretended grievances on the one side, and the threats of putting a stop to their commerce, fisheries, &c. on the other, it could not, I say, be supposed that with such an alternative these planters would have been mad enough to begin hostilities, and push things to the last extremity. This is, I believe, sufficient to satisfy you as to the delay and supineness of the English. Look also into the history of the present age, and you will see that this great nation has never exerted itself at the beginning of a war ; it must receive a shock, or be

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threatned with some dreadful misfortunes, in order to put her in a situation to correct the inconveniences of her constitution, and enable her to enjoy its advantages. Those who have a political turn will be convinced of this truth, by recalling to their remembrance all the wars since the revolution. I have explained the motives and accidents which have hindered the ministry from using efficacious means to prevent this revolt, and will now proceed to the second point.

To spare your impatience, I shall first acquaint you with my sentiments in general, and afterwards give you the reasons on which they are founded. They extend to several political subjects, as well as to oeconomic and other articles of finances, which relate to the separation from, or the possession of the Colonies.

1st. I think that America will sooner or later become either wholly or in part independent of Europe.

2d. I do not look upon that time to be as yet come.

3d. I am persuaded that it depends in a great measure upon the principal European powers who have large possessions in that part of the world, to retard or accelerate the time when the Colonies will become independent.

4th. I am of opinion that it is more the interest of Spain and Portugal to prevent that event than even England; more that of England than France; and more that of France than of any of the remaining powers who have establishments there. I do not even know if Holland ought not to be looked upon as the most interested in  
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it after Spain and England. This field abounding so in conjectural reasonings, as to future events, might furnish matter sufficient to fill several volumes; but I shall restrict myself to general views, and to particular facts which are connected with the present times.

I believe that England will triumph on this occasion over her Colonies: I found this belief on the following reasons.

1st. Because there are in the colonies a great number of faithful subjects, who groan under the tyranny of the rebels, and who favour government: to convince yourself of this, you have only to cast your eyes on the addresses which were presented to General Gage, on his departure from Boston—addresses which our news-paper writers have always taken great care to keep from the public in Holland.

2d. It is not known in this country that the flame of rebellion rages more particularly in New England; which consists of the four provinces of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. The rest of the Colonies have been drawn aside from their duty by the contagion of bad example and by violence—this will shortly appear to be the case, and the event shall prove the assertion, which I advance upon good authority.

3d. Independently of the mother-country having a strong party in America, what proportion is there yet between the formidable marine of England, and the American boats; betwixt well-disciplined troops, and a militia; betwixt the riches of Great Britain, and the paper-cur-

rency of the Colonies—betwixt the flourishing trade of the English, and the total extinction of that of the planters! I think, therefore, that their revolt has been premature, and that, for some time at least, the mother-country will be benefited by it.

4th. Nova Scotia is in the interest of government. I am persuaded, and repeat it from good authority, that there are a great many faithful and peaceable subjects who at present groan under the tyrannical yoke of these rebellious enthusiasts, that will declare openly for government as soon as the troops (for which they wait with the utmost impatience) shall have made good their footing on the continent. I have seen authentic pieces on the subject; and can there be any thing more natural? their own interest and safety depend upon it. It would be astonishing and against nature was it to happen otherwise.

5th. The report of the unanimity of the general congress is far from being true: there are positive proofs to the contrary. The nature of the establishment of the English Colonies, has, from the beginning, created betwixt them a spirit of jealousy and rivalry which has never ceased.

If you read the history of the Colonies from their first settling you will convince yourself that there always were dissensions amongst them. Every body is acquainted with those which subsist at the present time. The violence of Adams has induced Mr. Dickenson, author of the *Pensylvania Farmer*, to declare himself against the independency of the Colonies. The jealousy subsisting betwixt Peyton Randolph and Hancock  
foment

foment these dissensions ; the majority have disapproved of the invasion of Canada. You may read what Mr. Burke has published some years ago relative to the colonies (a). It is there that you will clearly see that it is truly the temper of Cromwell, which spreading itself has put all New England in fermentation. No sooner had the first settlers of that country found an asylum against the persecution and intolerance exercised at that unhappy period in England, and indeed all over Europe, but they became themselves intolerant and persecutors. History cannot parallel the excesses of fanaticism and the paroxysms of superstition which raged in Massachusetts Bay. Read an account of the cruelties and barbarities (unheard of before) which they for a long while exercised, together with the pretended judicial murders of supposed wizards, which they were guilty of. You will find in Mr. Burke the shocking decrees founded on what these furious demoniacs called spectral evidence. These atrocious excesses of barbarity obliged the King and government to curtail privileges which they abused in a manner shocking to humanity. Mr. Burke makes, on this occasion, a paradoxical observation, which at first we do not assent to ; but which, nevertheless, on close examination, appears to be true. It is intolerance and persecution, that author saith, which have peopled the new world. Intolerance extirpated the first

(a) An account of the European settlements in America, in two volumes. Although Mr. Burke has not put his name to this work, every body looks upon him as the author of it.



adventurers, and these again through their own intolerance were obliged to separate and to go higher up in the country to form new settlements. I shall add to these reflections, new and interesting in themselves, that the same thing has more than once happened in Europe, and that Providence often produces moral good, from what appears first the greatest of all evils. Pennsylvania is exactly the reverse of the province of Massachusetts; it is inhabited by a set of peaceful people, amongst whom all religions are alike tolerated, to the great advantage of the province. The same may be said of New York: these two provinces have been compelled to join in the revolt by the enthusiasm and by the violence of the rebels, seduced and misled by a few men of parts, who abusing of their understanding and their talents, draw after them a blind multitude which they deceive. It appears to me that there must result a considerable advantage to government (towards reestablishing order) from the great number of different religions and sects, dispersed over all North America; without reckoning on one side the divisions of interest, and on the other the intimate connections which several of the colonies have with the mother-country. I shall add one word more: those who are zealous in the American cause, have only to read the history of New England, and to take notice of the temper and character of its inhabitants, after which, if they do not blush to have declared themselves their advocates, they are incurable, and must be abandoned to their prejudices.

I had omitted observing in my former, that the navigation-act, against which the colonies have clamoured so much, has often been softened, modified, and relaxed in their favour. Several examples of this are found in Mr. Burke's work upon America. After having observed that the said act did hurt the rice-plantations of Carolina, he adds, " But now the legislature  
 " has relaxed the law in this respect, and permits  
 " the Carolinians to send their rice directly to  
 " any place to the southward of Cape Finisterre.  
 " This prudent indulgence has again revived  
 " the rice-trade; and, though they have gone  
 " largely, and with great spirit into the profitable  
 " article of indigo, it has not diverted their  
 " attention from the cultivation of rice: they  
 " raise now above double the quantity of what  
 " they raised some years ago; and this branch  
 " alone of their commerce is, at the lowest estimation, worth one hundred and fifty thousand  
 " pounds sterling annually." This mitigation has likewise taken place in relation to tobacco and other articles. It is very hard for the mother-country, after so many proofs of protection and good-will, to be basely calumniated by false accusations of oppression and tyranny.

6th. The Indians, for whom government has done so much, even as far as to give them at different times the exorbitant sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, to deter them from taking vengeance for the excesses committed against them by the Americans, surely cannot suffer themselves to be seduced by these rebels,

bels, against their common father and benefactor.

7th. Canada is too much interested in preserving the good graces of government ; many of its inhabitants have already given unquestionable proofs of their attachment to it ; and it is more than probable that when they shall be supported with the troops, they will take an active part in favour of Great Britain.

8th. From all these circumstances, and with forces so superior, success doth not appear in the least problematical. Remains the fears of other powers, which may, it is said, retard, if not render abortive, the operations against the rebels, by taking a part with them. This apprehension appears to me destitute of all foundation. His Britannic Majesty has made known the assurances which he had received on that head from the principal courts of Europe. I acknowledge that forty or fifty years ago this apprehension would have been well founded ; but now that experience has taught the respective powers, the illusion of that false policy, which sacrificed real advantage for imaginary good, the wisdom of the ministers hinders them from embracing so easily such erroneous systems. It is now understood, how chimerical commercial jealousies are. Each European power enjoys more or less the possessions of its neighbours. Each state reaps some benefits from the peaceful possession of the others ; and war is so incompatible with commerce, that the greatest advantage during a peace, never can compensate what is suffered during a war. Besides, I am well convinced, and many other people



ple are so likewise, that the several American establishments ought, for the interest of trade in general, to remain under the dependance of the respective powers which are actually in possession of them. For an example ; it is the joint interest of all Europe, that Spain and Portugal should preserve their several possessions in America. Without the gold and silver from the mines of Peru, Mexico and the Brazils, Europe could not subsist in a prosperous state—Commerce would perish,—that of the Indies could not be carried on any longer, and as much as that trade is at present useful and beneficial, in the same proportion would it then become ruinous and impracticable. Now it is more than probable, that if even North America becomes an independent empire, it will invade and subjugate Mexico and Peru. The northern nations have always, by reason of their great population and natural hardiness, invaded and conquered the southern ones. North America is in want of metals in general, and of bullion in particular, having but few mines, and none of gold or silver—these two last are the greatest objects of human cupidity—*Auri sacra fames, quid non mortali pectori cogis ?*—Spain, Portugal, and all Europe, ought, therefore, to join with England, if it was necessary, in order to prevent or at least retard that independency. Curacoa, Surinam, the islands of Jamaica, Martinico, St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, in a word, all the European possessions in America and the West Indies, would pass under the dominion of the continent—The commerce of Holland would

be at an end—no more could that republic boast of her riches and greatness !

Ever since the United Provinces, through the effects of second causes, have lost the exclusive trade of, and the consequent great advantages which they had heretofore by the herring-fishery, the only objects which make the balance of trade incline in their favour, are the spices from the Moluccas, the cinnamon of Ceylon, and the annual interest of the immense sums which the Dutch have placed in England and France. All these riches are real and solid, and will remain such, as long as Europe shall yearly receive the metallical treasures of America; which keeps up the credit and circulation of fictitious and factitious wealth. But was this to cease, all these riches in the public funds which uphold the opulence, luxury, and commerce of Holland, and of which they are the basis, would be reduced to nothing; and as her small territory furnishes but few resources, the soil being almost nothing, she would suffer by it still more than the other powers. How could she bear the export of bullion necessary to the commerce of the East Indies? Asia would soon drain off all our money, was it not for the stream of wealth issuing from Mexico and Peru, which continually replenishes Europe. Were all the other commercial powers exhausted, Holland, whose prosperous state is so necessary to Europe, would also be consequently totally ruined.—See the letter on commercial jealousy.

It is by the general commerce of America, that Asia refunds, in part, the bullion sent there.

The abbé Reynal has very well observed, that if Europe had not that vent for bullion, America would soon be incapacitated from sending it into Europe. Its superabundance in our continent would make it lose so much its value, that the nations which bring it us, could not draw any more of it from the colonies, nor be at the expence of working the mines.—On which account, continues he, the sending of bullion into India has been as advantageous to Spain, by upholding its only trade, as to the other nations who without it would not have been able to sell their staple commodities, nor the produce of their industry. Let these principles be applied to the consequences resulting from an independent empire in North America, and it will give a clear idea of my system.

The commerce of Europe derives great advantages from the English American Colonies, whilst immediately and intimately connected with England. Their separation would cause a general and irretrievable loss, at least for a long series of years: for it is a great mistake to suppose, that other nations would profit more by the commerce of the English Colonies, if they were independent of the Mother Country.

Dean Tucker has clearly shown that England would reap a greater present advantage by a separation from North America, which she enriches at her own expence; that she would still possess all her advantageous trade, and save immense sums; that is to say, that she would have the same benefits without any of the charges; and besides, this would be the sure means of making



several of the colonies return to their duty. Experience and the observations made at the custom-house, the state, more than flourishing, of the manufactures and actual trade of Great Britain, as well as the good condition of her finances, fully justifies all that Dean Tucker has said on the subject. But he doth not advert to the remote consequences that would result from such a separation; consequences which I have hinted at above. The existence of a nation is not like that of an individual—Government ought to think on posterity. England and the other powers might find some illusive and momentary advantages in that separation; but this chimerical advantage would lead them all, in process of time, to utter ruin. Their reciprocal advantage being in their union, and the mutual guaranty of their possessions.

I repeat again, what I before said, that the vast continent of North America becoming an independent power, it is more than probable that it would make the conquest of Mexico and Peru; and from that time that vast hemisphere would be almost as much separated from Europe, as it was before Columbus and Americus Vesputius; and Europe would sink again, for a time, into the state of indigence in which it was before that epocha, and even a much worse one, in consequence of the annihilation of its fictitious riches, of the impossibility of carrying on the Asiatic trade, and of that excessive luxury which reigns every where. It would be the severest convulsion ever experienced in Europe.

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The share (if I may use that expression) which Europe in general has in the mines, the propriety of which belongs to the Spaniards and Portuguese, demonstrates the truth of my principles. The depopulation of their provinces, proceeds from other causes—These mines are now of the greatest use to them; for when their country is saturated with gold and silver, i. e. when there is more than is necessary for internal circulation and commerce, then these metals become for them real commodities, instead of the signs of commodities; their overflowing is useful, their exportation becomes beneficial, and Spain and Portugal gain an advantage by furnishing the other commercial powers with them. The general felicity of Europe, is the result of the political harmony of each of the states of which it is composed.

I shall pass over in silence what Spain and Portugal may have to fear from the evil effect which the success of the English Colonies might have on the inhabitants of their respective possessions in the new world. But why, you will say, are there so many of the English who are trying to alarm the nation on the consequences of this war? I think I have given you above the true reason of it. Besides, there is a madness peculiar to the English nation, which is, to be the greatest slanderer of itself. At all times, and in all the different nations of the world, there have been declaimers against government. The past is always exalted at the expence of the present.—Henry the Fourth of France, and Sully, his first minister, were censured, criticised, and satirized  
in

their time. Henry the Fourth would be, it was said, a good prince if he did not carry cotton in his ears (a). The great Sully was surrounded with enemies, and with persons envious and jealous of his deserved favour. But all nations, the English excepted, magnify their national advantages, plume themselves on their resources, and are pleased with showing the fairest side, whilst their real faults are palliated. In England it is quite otherwise—This nation calumniates itself, doth not know, or forgets its advantages, exaggerates its faults, always rings the alarm, and pronounces upon whatever happens that it threatens the ruin of the state (b). I believe this, likewise, to be the result of the nature of their constitution, jointly with the hypochondriacal humour peculiar to some of the English. It is, therefore, necessary to observe, that this madness which characterizes, in a peculiar manner, the English nation, often misleads foreigners in their judgment of the true situation of its affairs, particularly in critical times.

The English nation, like all others, is composed of several classes of citizens, who differ in their manners, and have opposite characters.

(a) Alluding to the jesuit Coton, the French word for cotton being the same.

(b) The late Earl Bathurst, father to the present Lord Chancellor, was accosted about three years ago by a member of parliament, of the party in opposition, who said to him, "From this day, my Lord, we may date the ruin of the nation!" "That cannot be," answered the Earl, "for above fifty years ago I proved, in the finest speech I ever made in parliament, that the nation was ruined on that very day."

These



These different classes have, by the constitution, a great deal more weight than in any other nation, both from the share that several of them have in elections, and from that kind of control which they sometimes arrogate to themselves over their delegates. The number amongst the multitude who have sense, and a certain fund of knowledge cannot be considerable: prejudices and passions excited by designing and powerful individuals, are generally the guide of their conduct: from hence the clamours of a faction are often confounded and misconstrued for the voice of the whole nation, and the one mistaken for the other. In 1738 this clamour, excited by faction, drove England into an unnecessary and ruinous war against Spain; two powers who, if they consulted their true interest, ought never to be at war together. The connections and interest of their commerce are so closely united, and the advantages so reciprocal, that it is astonishing that ancient prejudices, which ought not to exist any longer, should still hinder the strict alliance which ought to subsist betwixt these two nations.—It is their constant interest—The true patriot should, therefore, invariably act on this plan, and endeavour to calm the fury of those who on the least misunderstanding, want to set them at variance. It is what the wisdom of the two courts has happily effected in the affair of Falkland Islands. Low jealousy and the unwarrantable ambition of monopolizing trade, may, perhaps, be still the failing of some few Englishmen; but these unjust pretensions are far from being entertained by government, or the wiser part of the  
the

the nation ; on the contrary, that false and erroneous system, so opposite to the true interest both of the crown and people, is every day more and more exploded—We are at the eve of seeing established in England, the system of giving up, rather than augmenting, her conquests ; of protecting the commerce of her neighbours, instead of destroying it. The Duke of Bedford, just before his departure for Paris, to treat of the late peace, declared publicly in parliament, that all the conquests made from the French, ought to be returned to them—perhaps he went too far,—*est modus in rebus*. But many of the English wanted, and with reason, to give back Canada (a). The English nation, as well as others, have improved much in the knowledge of their true interests, since the last peace. The class which through a sordid and ill-understood interest, was jealous of the trade of Holland, may exist still in England, but has not got the least influence. It is to be wished that the utility and necessity of the inseparable union which ought to subsist betwixt these two nations, should be clearly understood on both sides. The advantages of that union, although reciprocal, preponderate nevertheless on the side of the republic. It is astonishing, that this truth, which ought to be felt as soon as expressed, should want to be proved. The interest which Great Britain

(a) Every body knows, at this time, that it was merely to please the Colonies, now in rebellion, that the mother country kept Canada, and sacrificed to this point much more essential interests. Every thing, in fact, vouches the unnatural ingratitude of the rebellious colonies.

has in the preservation of Holland is evident : all sensible people amongst the English are convinced that their own safety depends upon it : they have often acted in consequence : witness when the French went to Cassant, and presented themselves before Maestricht in 1744—England then saved the republic from impending ruin.

The Dutch take a different rout in their commerce from the English ; in commerce, therefore, the two nations seldom interfere with each other—England was very much in the wrong to encourage the herring-fishery to the detriment of Holland. I cannot help taking notice that France was alike faulty in the hurt she did us in the said fishery—The court of Versailles granted, during the course of the last war, some immunities on the entrance of the herrings which the Dutch sent to France ; and this on account of the neutrality which the republic had embraced. The articles of peace were hardly signed, but these advantages were taken away. This measure certainly would not be used under the equitable reign of the monarch which now occupies the throne. It was that incident which occasioned the letter on the jealousy of commerce, in which the cause of the republic is defended without partiality. But let us return to our subject.

England ought to avoid whatever might prove detrimental to the commerce of Holland ; but this last must not pretend to extend her commerce too much in critical times, especially in matters that might not only be detrimental to England, but even be the cause of her ruin. Great Britain found herself exactly in that case in



the last war. The *salus populi* existed of her side. France carried on a trade to the West Indies in Dutch bottoms, which might have compleatly ruined the English nation. Some unjustifiable steps were very likely taken to put an end to this trade, but any other power would have done the same, in the same situation; of which we have examples. It is true there were some innocent individuals totally ruined on this occasion; but it is no less true that Holland, taking all together, has benefitted considerably by a trade which was so hurtful to the interest of England. It must be admitted that peace and neutrality ought to be the basis of our politicks; but our position is not so favourable as to enable us always to follow this system; as is the happy case of the republic of Venice: and this it is which obliges us to keep up a proportionable force, in order to render our neutrality respectable in case of a war. A neutrality which proceeds or appears to proceed from weakness, leaves us exposed to the insults of both parties. In the combination of conjectures, the events which may throw us into such a crisis as to oblige us to enter into a war, should be calculated; and then we should examine what allies we could best depend upon. France has certainly an interest in the preservation of the republic: the wise Cardinal de Fleuri (to whose memory due justice is not rendered) acknowledged this truth, and always acted in consequence. I am persuaded that the same spirit actuates at this time the court of Versailles. But time may make alterations in this system—Nothing is so rare as to see, at one and the

the same time, a monarch so wise, and such skilful ministers, as those who are now at the head of that great and formidable kingdom. All that is necessary to observe is, that if unhappily, in process of time, there should happen a war, it might occasion, by our situation, some forced circumstances which would put us in great danger from the side of France, notwithstanding our system of neutrality. At the end of the last war, the French thought that there were only two coercive means of forcing the English to treat on equitable terms: the one, to make the conquest of Portugal; the other, to attack Holland. The account of our exaggerated riches, and certain prejudices, renders this last a tempting bait. The army of Prince Ferdinand, and the English fleets, obliged France to strike the blow on the side of Portugal. These circumstances may again happen, whether France is at war with England or the House of Austria; and the rather, as she has always had the advantage when the theatre of the war has been in the Low Countries. This system prevailed in the war of 1744—and every body knows that when Mr. De la Bourdonnaye took Madras from the English, it was debated whether or no the island of Ceylon should be attacked. I most heartily wish that similar events may never occur; but they are possible: care must be taken, therefore, to prevent them, by preserving peace and a right harmony with such an estimable, powerful, and formidable nation. But it must be acknowledged that such a crisis can never happen from the side of England; which is, and ought to be, at all

times the natural ally of the republic; and whose interest it is to protect and defend her, if ever she is attacked. The mercantile disputes that arise now and then betwixt the two powers, can never be sufficient motives to overbalance interests, which are of so much more consequence. These disputes must be looked upon as a family-dispute, or like the quarrels which happen betwixt husband and wife. The other reasons which render the interest of the two nations common, are very well known.—Nobody loves the French more than I do, but I should think that I betrayed my country, if I did not say that though we should always cultivate the friendship of France, and studiously avoid whatever might lessen our good understanding with that power; yet, in pressing cases, we can depend alone upon the support of England, whose own interests and preservation are inseparably connected with those of the republic.

There is a system, or rather a plan of geometrical politicks, which would make the happiness of Europe, if the powers the most interested in it would adopt it. This plan appears to me founded on incontestible principles. This is its outlines. 1st. Amongst all the nations of Europe Spain, England, Portugal, France, and Holland have the largest possessions, and the most considerable and valuable establishments in America, Asia, and Africa. 2d. I think that I have demonstrated elsewhere that these powers reciprocally participate more or less in the advantages of the possessions of their neighbours; that the jealousies and rivalry betwixt them are



detrimental, because ill understood; and that their real interests do not clash so much as it is imagined. 3d. I believe, likewise, that means might be found to settle things on all sides, in such a manner as to render the truth of these principles palpable; they might still be rendered more solid and more manifest by small exchanges and certain conventions betwixt these powers, for their reciprocal interests. 4th. If then these five powers were to form a confederacy, mutually to protect their possessions, they would be rendered solid, durable, and permanent, as long at least as the human view can penetrate into the gloom of futurity—their security would be reciprocal—all Europe would feel the good effects of it; and if the northern powers, who have not such considerable establishments in the new world, would enter into this confederacy, it would have still more consistency. However, I very much fear that this will never happen; but I am persuaded it is their greatest interest, and that the good which would result from it, especially to the five named powers, may be demonstrated with as much evidence as a proposition of Euclid. At present there are too many prejudices to overcome, and too many passions, the fermentation of which must be evaporated by time and experience: but a time may come when political truths will make their way and be universally felt and acknowledged. Every truth that has had the appearance of novelty, has always met with difficulties in its establishment. If in physics and philosophy error has so long reigned triumphant, before truth could be discovered,

vered, why should we expect the same thing not to happen in politicks? The misfortune is, that in this last, reflection comes too late, and when there is no remedying the evil. I know that this is the effect of our passions: but a storm is succeeded by a calm; and it is in the calm moments alone, that a plan of this nature must be entered into. I do not know whether the age in which we live, is propitious to it.

If, unhappily, men must always be at war, why do they not try to civilize the coast of Barbary, in order to prevent the Moors from infesting the commerce of Europe?—This, in my way of thinking, is the consequence of a commercial jealousy, very ill founded. Those who, by intervals, are secure from the vexations of these Corsairs, are pleased with the insults which others receive from them.—False politicks! Interests ill understood! Europe in general would benefit much if that coast was civilized. It is not from a spirit of conquest that this project ought to be adopted, but for the good that would result from it. I have heard it said an hundred times, that it is impossible to carry on a war with success in that country. I never can be persuaded that the Emperor of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoly, &c. are more powerful than the formidable, renowned republic of Carthage, and the kingdom of Syphax, and of the Massinissa's, and that the maritime powers of Europe, united together, do not equal the Romans, at the time of the three Punic wars.—There is still another occasion in which the use of arms would be less dreadful: whenever a motive should offer itself  
without

without that injustice which ought always to be avoided ; this would be to re-establish the liberty of Greece : that country, the birth-place of an Aristides, an Epaminondes, a Socrates, a Sophocles, an Euripides, and of the most famous artists, would produce as great geniuses now, was it under a free and mild government. These are political dreams, I grant ; but how often are dreams verified ?

It is astonishing to see people condemn a great monarch, his ministers, the parliament, that illustrious and enlightened senate, without knowing what the state of the question is. They will not even read the works which might instruct them ; they must judge and pass condemnation ; and are too lazy to examine the reality of the grievances of which the judged are accused. They themselves, filled with prejudices and partiality, accuse the defenders of the best cause that ever was pleaded on the surface of the two hemispheres, of being prejudiced and partial. The writing entitled *The Rights of Great Britain over her Colonies*, is founded on authentic pieces drawn from the archives of Chancery, and from acts of parliament—Besides it is a known fact, that the English have spent immense sums during the two last wars, for and on account of the Americans : all the world has seen, from time to time, the Gazettes filled with bounties granted to the colonies. But on reading in that piece, the detail of what was already known in the gross, one is astonished at the exorbitant sums granted to those ungrateful people !

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The arguments of the same author, as to matters of right, are also founded on incontestible facts, and on the most solid reasons; the falsity of these arguments must either be demonstrated, or condemnation be passed. Foreigners always form their judgments on the authority of opposition, the absurdity of which has been demonstrated.—It is disgusting to see the scenes which pass on that account in parliament—The greatest, and probably the only vice of the constitution appears too much on this occasion. Happy it is, that the bulk of the nation has opened its eyes to its true interest—Almost all England seems actually animated with the same spirit of upholding and preserving the consideration which it enjoys in Europe.—It is known that the English are more than any other nation susceptible of that enthusiasm of the heart (very different from the enthusiasm of the mind) which gives an energy to the other qualities which distinguish that nation—It is that enthusiasm which inclines them to acts of generosity, unknown in other countries. This is, I believe, one of the causes of the constant successes which England has had in all the wars that she has been involved in. There is a young hero in America, who, with very small means, has already done great things; if I am not mistaken before the end of next summer the world will be astonished at his exploits, provided he is properly supported.

The point the most alarming to foreigners, who are not acquainted with the unlimited resources of England, is the enormous expence necessary to subjugate the rebels; and consequently  
encreasing

encreasing that common bug-bear, the national debt. We must first observe, that the English in general appear easy enough on that head. A proof that the bulk of the nation is but little alarmed at the state of things in America, is, that public credit is not at all hurt by it. It is true, that without this grievous event, *stocks* would be still higher. Nothing is more truly laughable, than to hear it said, that it is the ministry which by gaming in the stocks upholds them. That ridiculous absurdity has been repeated, echo-like, by a thousand ignorant people, without adverting to the impossibility of it. It is a shame that in a commercial country, as England is, such silly notions should be broached. Pecuniary people might, for example, be able to uphold for a time, against all endeavours to the contrary, the shares of the Dutch East India company's stock, because there is a great deal more money than shares. With two or three millions of florins, all the shares might be bought which are not mortmain in Holland. It would be much more difficult to monopolize the shares of the English East India company's stock, as they amount to several millions sterling. But as to the different government-funds, whose total amount is an hundred and twenty-eight millions sterling, dispersed in so many hands, there can be no possibility of keeping up their price, either by artifice or gaming. If public credit was not founded on a solid basis, the ministry could never support it. Twenty-five millions sterling, in real specie, would not be sufficient for it. Those who are acquainted with the

temper of the English, know, on the contrary, that a panic which takes them sometimes, lowers the funds without any solid reason ; but it is not possible to deceive them, when they think that they have good reason for their fears. It is a shame to be obliged to refute such an absurdity.

The English funds keep up, 1st. by the flourishing state of trade, notwithstanding the quarrel with the colonies. 2d. By the re-imbursement of a million sterling, which was made last year, through the good administration of the minister who is at the head of the treasury. 3d. By the quantity of gold and silver which has come for some time past, from South America into Europe, and which has exceeded that exported into Indostan. 4th. Because the source of the opulence of England, doth not depend so much upon the commerce with the rebellious colonies, as it had first been imagined. Moreover, this trade had been continued by other channels, by means of the West Indies and of Canada. The English have likewise sold, during this dispute, the produce of their manufactures to foreigners, who carry on a smuggling trade with their own settlements; and these at a higher price than they used to get from the rebellious Americans, who before used to carry on this branch of trade : so that, in fact, all are gainers, except the refractory colonies. It has been proved, that the manufactures in general (for particular cases should not be cited) never were in such a flourishing estate, since they cannot by any means answer the demands for home and foreign consumption: add to all these reasons, that the kingdom is considerably



rably richer than it was at the beginning of this century ; the land more highly cultivated, and luxury so much increased (perhaps too much) that her manufactures must of necessity flourish independently of external trade.

Such as are the slaves of prejudice, and ignorant of the true principles of political œconomy, and the elements of finance, cannot conceive that the power of England has increased with her debt ; but the solution of this paradox, a solution which carries demonstration along with it, may be seen in the treatise on circulation.

If the national debt was such as the vulgar suppose it (I speak of the vulgar in politicks and finance) England would be impoverished and ruined ; but the contrary is manifest : their system, therefore is absurd ; and experience ought to undeceive them. All the money which England has raised, either remained in that country, or was brought back again by circulation and commerce ; and by creating new funds, new wealth has been formed by the influence of credit. The taxes get back again into the hands of those who paid them ; and by the rapid circulation which they undergo, they have, at the end of a year, represented several times their value ; to the great advantage of trade, manufactures, and husbandry. This national debt is one of the principal causes, which has contributed to the opulence that reigns in England ! Although this may appear a paradox to the feeble sight of the politically-purblind, and of those who have not searched into this matter ; each event, each renewing year, brings a fresh proof of the truths

published and demonstrated in the treatise on circulation. Besides, all the nation is convinced of the good state of its finances: the East India company pays to the customs, double of what she paid heretofore, and thereby enriches the kingdom. The sinking-fund increases by all these advantages, and by the extinctions which have been made; and it is known that betwixt this and 1780, that fund will receive the addition of a million annually, by the annuities of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 per cent. which will be reduced to 3 per cent. These are not mere words, but facts, which the greatest part of those who talk on the subject are ignorant of, or pretend to be so, and thus by ignorance or malice, the public is impudently imposed upon by false representations; the expences have been so far from exceeding the revenues, as has been erroneously reported, that on the contrary there was always an excess of revenue, of nearly two millions and a half; with which, since the last peace, the national debt has been lightened several millions, notwithstanding the many unavoidable extraordinary expences of this period; and with all the heavy ones which the colonies occasioned last year, another million was paid off during the course of it.—It will be easy, with a few extraordinary supplies, to get through the enormous expences of the present year. The augmentation of a shilling on the land-tax, a lottery, or perhaps a small loan of two millions will be sufficient for it.—Where is the nation, who, like Great Britain, has lowered a quarter part of the land-tax since the peace; though it is known that the land is not assessed to half

half its real value? Yet this has not hindered government from providing for accidents, and from liquidating a part of the national debt. Is it not, therefore, scandalous to print such false assertions in the public papers; a thing done almost daily? To deceive an individual is blameable; to deceive the public, on such an important subject, is a crime, and a crime of the blackest dye. But the constant experience of real and notorious facts, daily give the lie to these absurdities, and their authors only reap from them confusion and shame.

Those, in general, who speak with the greatest warmth on the national debt, are not acquainted even with the nature of that debt; which far from being an evil, is a good, and a supernumerary mass of riches; a mine of real value: but these pathetic declaimers are totally ignorant of the immense resources of that England, whose debts they so much lament. All those that are acquainted with the state of that kingdom, know that when the land-tax was first levied, in the reign of William the Third, it happened from accidents (of which the detail is unnecessary) that half the land was not assessed, and the rest much under its value; and that if, on any pressing occasion, this tax was justly paid, it would bring in, according to accounts taken, two millions sterling. The land is then taxed much under its real value. This great resource is not the only one which that object offers; there is another relative to the land. It will not be made use of for a long time to come, but it exists, and it is this: the new enclosures and divisions that  
have



have been made in order to improve the wastelands, which in England are called commons, augment prodigiously every year ; though no encrease has been made, in consequence thereof, in the produce of the land-tax. Recourse will only be had to this resource in the most critical times ; because it seems to be detrimental to industry, and to the improvement of the land ; both which are the result of that freedom, which is the peculiar happiness of England ; a principle contrary to that of the œconomists. It is sufficient to mention the resources that Great Britain has in reserve ; resources which depend upon the soil, the landed estates, the climate, and the industry of the nation. These are the reasons why her credit is so great ; if she wants any loan, it will be found without usury. The funds may at first sink a little, but they will rise again almost directly. These things are placed in a right point of view in the treatise on credit and circulation : add to this, that many people expect great advantages to the kingdom, from the measures which will be taken in order to render the colonies as much beneficial to the mother-country as they have hitherto been little.

The augmentation of the nominal riches by the national debt, has then greatly contributed to the opulence of Great Britain, jointly with other causes, such as the improvement of lands, as has been demonstrated in the political arithmetic of Young ; where it is proved, from a constant and invariable experience, that the principles of the œconomists are erroneous.

It

It is seen in the treatise on circulation, that the system of the œconomists, which is, to have one general tax or excise, which they would have levied at first hand, on all products or manufactures, has been proved prejudicial, by the experience of all ages, and of all nations. It is even contrary to the end proposed by it. Mr. Young has demonstrated, that one of the principal causes of the flourishing state of cultivation in England, is, that the land-tax remains always on the same footing, and doth not increase in proportion to the improvement made by industry. What would be the case if a third part of the produce of the lands were to enter into the King's coffers? his revenue reduced to this sole resource, would be diminished as well as the cultivation. If the scheme of an only tax, laid on the source of the productions, deducting, according to the system of the œconomists, one-third for the expences of tillage, one-third for the cultivation, and one-third for the revenue, was to take place, bread would rise to four times its present price, and the revenue would not receive a quarter part of what it doth now. I am persuaded that there is not now a minister in Europe ignorant of that truth. The increase and improvement of agriculture in England, in consequence of following the reverse of these principles, shows how ill-founded they are. Truths of this importance cannot be too often repeated.

My principles, on the subject of national debt, and on a general excise, are not to be controverted by bold assertions of their falsity; they must be proved so, or my antagonist will be re-

duced to some absurd conclusions. It must be proved that Holland and England have lost that nominal wealth which forms what is called their national debts ; that is to say, that this nominal sum of debt, diminishes so much of their real wealth ; and that they are less rich by that sum, than they otherwise would be : and we must be shown how that money has vanished. But the contrary of all this is evident. These countries are richer in specie than they ever were. Money has only circulated, and, by creating nominal values, it has been doubled by being represented. It must also be proved, that these funds do not represent money exactly, as money represents commercial and useful objects. But every body knows that this cannot be controverted—It must likewise be proved that the taxes which have given these funds real value, by paying their interest, do not come back to the public, nor circulate several times a year, in favour of industry. Those who deny these matters, have no notion of circulation, of finances, nor of credit—They must farther prove, that agriculture as well as manufactures have diminished in England, in proportion to the augmentation of the national debt. But the contrary is proved ; and one of the causes which has occasioned the increase of culture and of manufactures, is certainly the mass of additional riches which form the public funds, and diffuses every where activity and opulence. England and Holland would have been ruined long ago, if their debts were of the nature that they are obstinately, as well as falsely represented to be.



It has been objected to me, that if my principles were just, they would hold good with regard to France also. I have never denied it: I even think I have proved it, with these restrictions, that in France the rate of interest is too high, that the funds are not so easily circulated, in consequence of the shackles put to them (for all the contracts ought to be payable to the bearer) and by the little care taken to keep up the public credit. These circumstances diminish the value of the French funds, as well as their utility. But they are, nevertheless, of the same nature, and always represent a mass of additional riches. Without these principles, all these political problems become unreasonable, lead to absurdity, and are constantly contradicted by experience and facts. I am obliged to repeat what I have said elsewhere, when I treat of the same subject. Truth ought to be repeated again and again, until she is acknowledged. If the utility of inoculation, jesuit's bark, and of antimony, had not so often been insisted upon, they would have continued to be generally proscribed, as they are by some persons to this day. But truth, in the end, will triumph over error. It has been proved, that the national debt has enriched the nation, instead of impoverishing her. The maximum only must be avoided; and, as far as I can judge, England is far from it. If even, under favour of a peace, she can reduce her debt to an hundred millions, I cannot help exhorting her to stop there. The not being acquainted with my principles, has given occasion to some able

calculators to censure one of the means which I had proposed of lessening the weight of that pretended burden, called national debt. After having given a new idea as to the mode of creating new funds, I shewed the method of connecting their extinction with the nature of the stock itself; and if, in the interim, the mass of the annuities\* should be found too voluminous, that inconvenience might be remedied by converting some of them into life-annuities; on this all the calculators, who have not the least notion of the political finances of a state, fall upon my back, and they endeavour to shew me that it would be ruinous for England, and that it would cost I do not know how many thousand pounds sterling more every year. They support their triumphant demonstrations, as they think them, upon the calculations of Dr. Price, who has plainly adopted my great principle, of joining the method of extinguishing the stock to the nature of it; but he declaims very much against life-annuities. Nevertheless I believe, that his calculations do not prove any thing against the utility of my plan; but I must add, that I doubt of their exactness. They appear to me contrary to the great mortality which, he acknowledges himself, reigns in London and all England. Besides, his observations are made on bills of mortality, out of which he only takes the people from 30 to 60—which is not the right way, as it is precisely the age in which there is the fewest deaths. Ex-

\* By annuities Mr. Pinto generally means, the yearly interest of the funds.



perience has shown, in France, that life-annuities are not so detrimental to the finances as the Doctor insinuates. But what occasions the mistake of all calculators on this subject, is, that they do not examine it as statesmen, but as mere arithmeticians; and in that narrow point of view, they cannot be sensible of the advantages that would result to England from the conversion which I propose.

The political reasons for this conversion ought not to be lost sight of. 1st. Although the sum total of annuities is a mass of real riches, yet its bulk may be too great: for being dispersed in so many hands, too many, necessarily, come to market, on the least political convulsion. 2d. This, consequently, may make the stocks fall, and raise the value of money; so hurt public credit, and embarrass the operations of finances. It is, then, to obviate those great inconveniences, and to diminish the mass of annuities, that this plan tends. If, in carrying it into execution, it should cost government more than I imagine it would do, it would be so much more in favour of the annuitants; and, therefore, no evil. I have demonstrated, that these annuities return back again into the treasury, by the consumption of goods that pay duties, by luxury, and, more than once, by circulation. This my critics have not attended to. Therefore their pretended loss to the state is chimerical, even if their calculations were as true, as, in general, they are false. Two great objects are obtained by my plan: the not augmenting the mass, already too great, of the annuities, and a sure



mode of joining the means of redeeming the debt to the debt itself. To understand this matter perfectly, all its detail and connections with other objects should be known: and this is a task to which few are equal. Little is it in the power of the mere dry calculator, who cannot perceive the analogy of the many complicated objects of which political arithmetic is composed. Messrs. Young, Tucker, and the Abbé Reynal, have excellent views—but they have not, as yet, overcome certain prejudices—They must be rectified. In fifty years time my principles on circulation will be looked upon as axioms, upon which there will be no room to dispute. I have not been able to dispense with entering on the discussion of that disputed subject, the national debt; since, from a clear knowledge on this head, we may form very probable conjectures as to the success and consequences of the present war. If it be such a burden, as is vulgarly depicted, England will fail in her enterprizes; but if it is to be considered in the point of view in which I represent it, it appears impossible that the colonies should be able to resist her power for any great length of time. On this subject I must once more beg leave to quote myself, and to insert here my answer to Mr. de Mirabeau, on the following argument, which has seduced many sagacious people, and which, nevertheless, is a mere sophism, the falsity of which is evident.

“ Where is the house of any reputation (says  
 “ Mr. Mirabeau) which, having money in its  
 “ hand on loan, does not make a point of be-  
 “ ing punctual in the payment of the interest?

“ Where

“ Where is the father of a family, desirous of  
 “ an independent fortune, and an easy life, who  
 “ has not been heard to say, since the extension  
 “ of that unhappy custom of borrowing money  
 “ on interest, that to be easy in his circum-  
 “ stances, a man must have at least the third  
 “ part of what he is worth, placed out on inte-  
 “ rest? which is a proof that every one would  
 “ wish to receive interest, and that no body  
 “ would pay any; and consequently that the  
 “ receipt of interest is profitable, the payment  
 “ of it detrimental; therefore money lent on  
 “ interest is disadvantageous to the person that  
 “ borrows it. What is against the interest of  
 “ one family, must be against the interest of all  
 “ families. A state is no more than a large fa-  
 “ mily, consisting of several families united to-  
 “ gether: what ruins distinct families, will  
 “ likewise ruin the state. The universe is only  
 “ a state composed of several of those great fa-  
 “ milies called nations. What ruins a nation  
 “ must in its course ruin the universe, and all  
 “ the human race.”

*Mr. Mirebeau's Rural Philosopher.*

There is no parity betwixt a state and an in-  
 dividual relatively to debts; the application is  
 absolutely false! All the expences of an individual  
 out of his family, never re-enter into his house:  
 that is to say, into his cash. All the internal ex-  
 pences of a state serve to protect the nation, re-  
 main in the country, and come back again into  
 the coffers of the state. The individual, if he  
 has any debts, pays the interest of them to peo-  
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ple that are strangers to him, and the amount of this interest, *quoad* interest, never returns again into his purse ; whereas the interest or rents which a state pays to its subjects, circulate in the country, and come back again by the taxes, by luxury, and by several other ways, into the coffers of the state, from whence they issued. It is the right-hand which pays to the left, what this last returns again with interest to the first ; and this alternate circulation is a public and a general benefit. That is as clear as the sun. No one, therefore, can of two things so different and opposite take the one for the other. In one instance alone, these two objects seem to bear some resemblance, and really have some affinity ; though this is to be understood with great restrictions. It is in the case of that interest which the state is to pay to foreigners. Here the state appears almost in the same situation with the individual who is in debt. It must be allowed, that a foreign debt is disadvantageous to a state. It is a kind of tribute which it pays, and if that object becomes too great, it is certainly an evil. This evil, however, is lessened by the original sums of the capital, if borrowed at a moderate interest—It is otherwise if the interest is great—which is not the case in England ; where, in thirty years time, they repay in retail, what has been received all at once, at some critical time.

The English nation has still a further alleviation of this evil, if we consider, that if she pays interest to foreigners, she also receives some from them. The English have considerable life-annuities in France, and they have placed a great  
deal



deal of money there in funds, for which they have the royal security; and which they bought at so low a price, as to receive a prodigious interest. They possess also Silesia-bonds, which are well paid, as also bonds from de la Heure, Sardinia, &c.

The treatise on circulation indicates the other considerations which render the inconvenience above mentioned little felt in England.

It must also be observed, in order not to confound things, and to have a just idea of this object, that loans are, in many cases, very useful, even to individuals, which proves the principle of Mr. Mirabeau still more erroneous: money let out at interest, far from being disadvantageous to the borrower, is advantageous to merchants and to trade. In England, Holland, and in all commercial places, a great number of merchants, and even of the richest, often borrow of the monied men at 3 and 4 per cent. to employ their money in trade, by which they double and treble it—This truth is well known—It is only when the father of a family enters into the class of annuitants himself (which is very rare) that he gives up trade, and becomes desirous of an independent fortune; it is in this case only, that it becomes necessary to reimburse the money which the house had borrowed on interest. Thus you may see how much Mr. Mirebeau's principle stands in need of being rectified, even relatively to individuals; its application to the state is inconsistent and absurd.

The consequence with which those threaten England, who predict her own ruin if she de-

stroy her colonies, is a manifest exaggeration—  
 a mere bugbear.—The English do not mean to  
 destroy the colonies, but to save and to set at li-  
 berty those who actually groan under the tyranny  
 of the rebels—They mean to re-establish order  
 in their American dominions, and to reap those  
 advantages which they naturally ought to derive  
 from them.—A foil is better when the weeds are  
 rooted out, and thereby becomes the more fer-  
 tile; and it is under this point of view, that it  
 may be deemed a happiness for the mother-coun-  
 try, and for all Europe, that this rebellion has  
 broke out in a premature manner, by which  
 the independence of the Americans may be re-  
 tard ed some centuries. The expences which this  
 occasions, and some small interruptions in trade,  
 are small evils, and of little consequence. It has  
 been a hundred times proved, that the English  
 are too rich; this expence affects them but  
 a little, and we have nothing to bewail, in this  
 contest, but the effusion of human blood, the  
 guilt of which must be charged to the fury and  
 madness of the Americans who are the sole cause  
 of it. But I am much mistaken, if the present  
 measures of the English will not be as decisive  
 as they are just and vigorous. One certain good  
 has ensued from the rebellion of the colonies, as  
 it has occasioned a thorough examination of  
 the importance, utility, and inconveniences of  
 them: our ideas were very vague before on  
 that subject—but it has been examined, and  
 searched into—and that object on which there  
 were formerly so many various opinions, is now  
 very well known and understood. At the end  
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of the last war, nobody in England, some few East India directors excepted, knew the importance of the British possessions in Indostan.—They wanted in a manner to sacrifice Asia to America; the contrary ought to have been done.—It is true that this erroneous plan has been in part amended; but before the preliminaries it might have been more perfect, more solid, and, I will venture to say, more beneficial for the contracting parties. Since that epocha some faults have likewise been committed; and perhaps there still remains some prejudices relative to the India Company; but certainly the territory possessed by the English in the East Indies ought to be looked upon as the richest gem of the crown; and as this important object presents itself to my pen, I shall give my sentiments on it; and the rather as it is closely connected with American affairs. It is but lately that the importance of the Indian possessions has been known. They are invaluable—provided that government and the Company keep in their remembrance the apologue of the hen that laid golden eggs—They had very nearly verified the fable, by almost embowelling the hen; and the means which were afterwards used to remedy the evil, were not applied with all the art necessary to render them specific, salutary, just, and free from great inconveniencies. At first the intoxication caused by the successes of the East India Company,—her riches exaggerated by those who had contributed to them, made them reap too soon the harvest which they should have left to ripen maturely. The company in 1766, before it had li-

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quidated



quidated its debts, at once offered to government four hundred thousand pounds sterling a year, in consideration of the revenue of the newly-acquired territorial dominions in the province of Bengal ; and this hasty step of the directors and of the proprietors, occasioned by a blind impatience of having their dividends augmented, has sheltered government from that censure which it would have incurred if the ministers had prematurely and authoritatively required that exorbitant sum. It appears to my weak understanding that during the continuation of the company's charter, and perhaps after its expiration, all that government could have pretended to, with any justice, would have been a land-tax on the territorial revenue of Bengal, on the same footing as that levied in England ; a step which would at once have obviated that great absurdity of *imperium in imperio*. These possessions have cost an immense sum to the company. The proprietors have long suffered for it by a trivial dividend. It is partly at their expence that these acquisitions have been made ; it was but just that they should in their turn reap the advantages accruing from them ; but those happy days had hardly dawned for them, when they were again eclipsed by unforeseen accidents. Every body knows that the fear of the French troops, which in the year 1768 were in the island of Mauritius, involved the company in a ruinous expence for fortifications and other military works, to the amount of three millions sterling : I leave it to be imagined how much its servants have abused their trust in using this circumstance as a pretext  
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for the encrease of many other unnecessary expences. The Directors, who could not possibly foresee the rebellion of the Americans, had ordered nine thousand ton of tea to be sent home, and not having been able to sell it, the price of it has consequently fallen, to the great detriment of the company; which has besides suffered a further loss by the large quantities of it which have rotted in the warehouses: for the above reasons government, on the repeal of the American stamp-act, should have laid a duty on any other article rather than on tea.

The company has been, on this occasion, the victim of the measures of government. It has, besides, had the additional charge of a shilling per pound to indemnify government for the suppression of a shilling per pound duty taken off, in favour of the Americans. This new duty, jointly with the annual four hundred thousand pounds sterling, became too heavy a burden. The consequences of this have been fatal. However these unlucky accidents were only of a temporary nature. Another unaccountable blunder, which the company was guilty of at the time of the convention with government, was, to engage to continue the payment of four hundred thousand pounds annually, which should only be lessened in proportion as the dividend of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. should be lessened, and not entirely to cease until the dividend was reduced to 6 per cent.—This was very unjust; for according to a list of the dividends one year with another, the English East India Company has always divided 8 per cent.; but by this convention the proprietors have been reduced to

the cruel alternative of either giving, in cases of accidents, forced dividends, or of being reduced all at once to 6 per cent. The proof of what I advance is, that during the war of 1744, when without territory, the company always divided 8 per cent. The loss of Madras, in 1747, did not hinder the continuation of that dividend, notwithstanding that the war was still carried on in the Indies, after the peace of Aix la Chapelle; and it was only in 1755 that it was reduced to 6 per cent.; a dividend unknown before. The result of all this has been, that those most interested, in a company the most opulent that ever existed, and at the time when it was apparently most prosperous, have suffered a sudden loss, of which there is no example; and this without a foreign war, without the loss of the company's possessions, without shipwrecks, without any diminution of its trade, which last was in the most flourishing state in 1773. The whole, in consequence of the convention with government, the error of administration. If government had at that time waved the power given it by the letter of the convention, and caused the dividend to be lowered from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 per cent. only, till the full payment of the company's debts, it would have covered itself with glory; every body would have been satisfied, (a) and I am able to prove that this would have been the interest of government, as well as that of the proprietors.

(a) According to that indiscreet convention 8 per cent. cannot be divided amongst the proprietors, without paying the same proportion to the revenue.



1st. All loss of nominal value is a real loss to government. This loss has been very great, and has influenced the fortunes of individuals. I have been astonished, to find people in England, who believed that the high price which India stock bore, was a hurt to the rest of the funds. It is precisely the contrary; the revenue has certainly lost by the great fall of that stock. 2d. The loss which foreigners have sustained by it will not be looked upon as indifferent to England, by persons who understand the nature of public credit.—The generality of men are like children who beat the pavement on which they fall: and such a revolution could not be favourable to public credit.—This evil would in a great measure have been prevented, if the dividend had only been reduced to 8 per cent. I insist upon it, and experience has shewed it, that the difference of 2 per cent. was not an object to the company. The most knowing among the directors, even wanted to give more, and to continue the payments to government: either of these appeared to me absurd at the time. The interposition of government would have been as useful as it was necessary, if all the circumstances had been duly attended to. It must, nevertheless, be allowed, that when the embarrassment of the company's affairs took place, in consequence of unforeseen and temporary accidents, of unexpected drafts on the company, of the construction of forts, of embezzlements, of the large quantity of tea sent to England, and remaining unsold, of the failure of the rice-harvest, of the famine, &c. the directors had already determined upon a plan of reformation,

mation, which chiefly consisted in diminishing unnecessary expences, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds a year, and in concurring with Mr. Hastings's plan, who had already demonstrated, that by putting a stop to the building of forts in the province of Bengal, there would be a saving in India of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling yearly. These authentic pieces were all published in 1773; they have been looked upon as chimeras, and it was positively insisted upon that the company was ruined: and from the exaggerated falsehoods of Mr. Bolts, and other writers misled by him, the company was thought totally undone, because she owed, at that time, one million four hundred thousand pounds to government, eight hundred thousand pounds to the Bank (which, by the by, was not uncommon, even in its most prosperous state) five or six hundred thousand pounds likewise were owing on account of extraordinary drafts, which were to be paid in 1774, which made, together with some few other contracted debts, about three millions sterling. It was to no purpose to give assurances, that if examined to the bottom, the affairs of the company would be found not only in a solid but a flourishing condition; that the sales of the year 1773 amounted to almost double what they did before; that the causes which had occasioned these debts subsisted no longer; that, by the savings made, these losses would be retrieved in three years time—the general cry was still that the company was ruined, that the province of Bengal was drained, that the possessions in India

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were precarious—two assertions destitute of all foundation. But before I give my sentiments more particularly on the subject, I appeal to experience, which destroys what Mr. Bolt and others have advanced on the occasion.

Since the end of 1773, the company has not only paid the remainder of the drafts, which the exclaimers insisted could not be done without further help from government, but it has paid, besides, the eight hundred thousand pounds to the Bank, and last year five hundred thousand to government; and it is asserted, that next month government will be reimbursed by it nine hundred thousand pounds sterling more. Thus this ruined company, these drained possessions, have furnished in three years time wherewith to pay three millions of extraordinary expences from her savings, besides one million sterling which Governor Hastings has repaid in Bengal. After such a demonstration there is no need of any other proof, and any thing more on the subject might well be dispensed with, nevertheless I dare assert, and I appeal to future times for the proof of my assertion, as I have done to the experience of past times, which confirm those which I have heretofore advanced on this subject—I assert then, positively, that the English and Dutch possessions in Indostan, far from being precarious like those of America, are solid and immoveable; that is to say, from the side of the people of the country. Between the Europeans the success of a war is precarious. The French may invade the English and Dutch possessions, and *vice versa*; but from the remotest



most antiquity the inhabitants of India have never been able to make head against the Europeans. The force of the Mahrattas is much exaggerated—That people, it is true, is formidable, but not so much so as to make an exception to the general rule—Besides they are always divided, and one party of them constantly on the side of the English.

The pretended poverty of the treasury in the province of Bengal, is not only exaggerated, but even does not exist at all, since the experience of the three last years proves the contrary by plain and unquestionable facts : i. e. the progress of the company, and the payment of her enormous debts. But if it is further considered that Indostan is not only the gulf in which, from time immemorial, almost all the bullion of Europe has been sunk, and that, even at this time, England, France, Holland, and other powers, send thither yearly, a large quantity of gold and silver, it will plainly be seen how chimerical this pretended poverty is. It is true, the rapacity and cupidity, the extortions and monopolies (always destructive) of some of the company's servants, may be very detrimental to trade, and to the natural productions of the country, and make these treasures disappear for a while, or, in other words, occasion the hiding of them. This has already happened, and may happen again. But the care of government and of the directors, who begin to be sensible of the nature of these possessions, may, in part, if not entirely prevent this evil in future ; and if so, time will dissipate all the unhappy events which  
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those prophets of evil have prognosticated as impending over the two companies. Every body has heard of the immense treasures which Tamas Kouli Khan found in the province of Delhi; it is pretended that they amounted, in gold and silver, to five hundred millions sterling. I think the sum exaggerated, and that it ought to be reduced to one half. Nevertheless India has not been exhausted, although the greatest part of these treasures were carried into Persia. The English do not carry away any money from the country, on the contrary they every day leave some there in exchange for its productions and manufactures, and it is the luxury of Europe which makes it good to them.

The Abbé Reynal, a celebrated and judicious author, has written on the subject of the Dutch East India company: his materials were memoirs, which should appear to be faithful, since they were drawn up by persons who had been at the head of the company's affairs in the East Indies. These memoirs, however, were written a long while before the publication of the Abbé's book. I acknowledge that it contains many curious, interesting, and true particulars, which are not to be found any where else. But several of the consequences which he draws are, nevertheless, false. One example will be sufficient. If the Dutch East India company did not clear at the end of the year, more than two hundred and fifty thousand florins, *as is pretended*, it would have been insolvent long before now; for since the date of the memoir, included in the Philosophical History of the above-named au-  
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thor, the company has met with great losses by the war carried on in the island of Ceylon, and other incidents, and yet it is not ruined. Let the other consequences, deduced by the said memoirs, be also compared with recent events, and they will be found equally erroneous. The work of Mr. Holwell is an historical picture of the affairs of Indostan, much more faithful and more comfortable for the English nation than the caricatures of Mr. Bolt, or the memoirs which seduced the ingenious author of the Philosophical and Critical History of both the Indies.

The English and Dutch may meet with a check from the Indians; but whilst they preserve their power at sea, with a few troops they will always be able to master them. That indolent and effeminate people will always be mastered by the English, if other powers do not espouse their cause. This weakness of the Indians is the consequence of their climate, and of other physical and moral causes. It is even probable that the English will always have the superiority which their marine gives them over the other powers of Europe; and attacking that nation in Asia would, I think, be like laying hold of the bull by the horns.

Many people pretend that territorial possessions, and the wars which they occasion, are inconsistent with trade, and ruinous to the company—from this assertion I appeal to experience—After the catastrophe of the massacre of the English at Calcutta, the company, supported by the Admirals Watson and Pocock, revenged that outrage, by taking possession of the province



vince of Orixá. That conquest and the revenues arising from it, have been the source of the prodigious success of the company in India, even against European enemies who appear to have superior force to what had ever been seen before in that country. This single observation seems to determine the question. But if there wants more proof, consider the extraordinary sums which government has received since that epocha, by the customs which have brought in almost double the four hundred thousand pounds a year, the dividend which the company have paid, the great expences it has been at in fortifications, the ease and quickness with which it surmounted the embarrassment of its affairs three years ago; if all this does not demonstrate the utility of its territorial possessions, nothing can be demonstrated. The Dutch East India company would be nothing without territorial possessions. The servants of the company, in that case, in India, strive to make a rapid fortune, in order the sooner to return home again. Means must be found to remedy this great evil. Such as fill the chief posts ought to have assurances from government and from the company, that they should be handsomely rewarded after ten years residence; but, to obtain that reward, their conduct ought to be strictly examined into, and they should be punished if they had behaved ill. This must be the basis of all the amendments that can be projected. I should think it adviseable even to offer a premium of so much per cent. for those who should prove that they had cut off any useless expences, improved some branches of commerce,

merce, laid out money on some useful and important objects ; for in great concerns, niggardliness and stinginess ought to be avoided with as much care as prodigality and lavishness—maxims that are little known in Holland. Every thing that tends to hurt or distress the Indians ought to be carefully avoided and discouraged ; they should be treated with mildness and humanity, but at the same time be made sensible that they are not feared, and that they would be punished with severity if they became perfidious. I repeat it, war should not be renewed in India out of wantonness, or to answer particular private purposes ; but at the same time it ought not to be dreaded when it appears necessary. Wars in India are of a different nature from any carried on in any other part of the world : humanity ought to prevail, and therefore the seducing advantages which an Indian war offers to some political eyes, should be renounced. The English East India company being in possession of Bengal, Bahor, and Orixa, cannot but profit from the territorial revenue, by the receipt of the specie which other nations bring there to carry on their commercial transactions. It is therefore the interest of the English East India company to suffer this trade to be carried on freely ; whilst, on the other hand, the nations so permitted to trade should think themselves happy therein, as they are thereby free from military expences, which in their situation is a very great advantage ; and they will do so, provided they are not blinded by jealousies, contrary to the reciprocal interest of all the parties. I recommend it to the proprietors  
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of both the English and Dutch companies not to lose sight of this great, this important truth.

There are people who take a pleasure in reporting, that at the expiration of the term of the charter, government will take the territorial revenue from the company; and by this absurd report, which I hold to be without foundation, the price of India stock is kept low. I must observe, by the by, that even if this was to be the case, the price of the stock ought to rise; for it is not under a government mild and free, like that of England, that the company should be dispossessed of an estate acquired at its own expence and risk, without making a compensation for it: it is their property. But why should I refute chimeras? The British government knows that all that has been written against the exclusive trade of the company, treating it is a ruinous monopoly, are political sophisms, which have hitherto always been contradicted by experience. It is ridiculous to call the commerce of the English or Dutch companies a monopoly. They procure the subsistence of millions of people, they are the source of the riches of the two states; the fortunes which their servants make in India, *per fas & nefas*, always turn to the profit of the state, therefore cannot be called a monopoly. This commerce is of such a nature as to be better directed by a company than by individuals. The Dutch were sensible of this when their company was established. Experience and good sense have always confirmed them in that system, and they are happy in never having had its propriety called in question. The trade of separate individuals  
would



would be ruinous; because the more competitors there are in India for the purchase of goods, the dearer the commodities are, and in proportion to the quantities of goods brought into Europe, do their prices rise or fall; and individuals would pay no regard to these circumstances. Besides, this is a trade which of late has more or less been carried on by force of arms; for which reason it can only be successful to a company. Let us now come to the produce of the territory.

If government took from the company the produce of the territory, confining it only to trade, the revenue would run the risk of losing annually above two millions sterling well secured, and this for the sake of adopting a precarious and doubtful system. The duties which the company pays to the customs have nearly doubled since 1763—this is a fact well known.

This augmentation of duties amounts to above four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. This overplus proceeds from the considerable returns, and the prodigious sales of the company, which would be totally impossible to be made, if it was deprived of its territorial revenue: it could no more make such large investments, and the sales would decrease considerably, to the great detriment of trade. Government would suffer (besides any other losses) by thus stopping the sources of its finances. The East India company, far from being a monopoly, gives life, by its navigation, exportation, and sales, to all the classes of the state. Its commerce protects and enriches them; but all these benefits are returned with ingratitude; that vice  
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too common in the world—Besides, how would government get the territorial revenue remitted to Europe? It would be absolutely impossible. Specie cannot be brought out of India without a very great loss; and if this was to be done, in that case it would be found out only a possible way of draining that country of its riches. It follows then, indubitably, that the territorial revenue cannot be brought to Europe advantageously, otherwise than in goods, by the traffic of the company. This operation is more to the interest of government than of the company; which, by means of this territorial revenue, increases its sales, and consequently its commerce, which increases the royal revenue by a hundred different ways, independently of the augmentation of the custom-house duties. (a)

The share of the territorial revenue which government might pretend to, ought to be very moderate; in order to avoid the fate of him who killed the hen that laid golden eggs—Government ought to watch over the establishments in the East Indies, and the œconomical administration of the directors, to be constantly correcting rising abuses, to stop their progress, for there will always be some, and it is their excesses and consequences which ought to be prevented.

(a) It is then as clear as the day, that it is the interest of Great Britain that the charter of the company should be continued for several years, and it is the only means by which the finances can most profit. All other methods are only chimerical and ruinous projects, supported only by declamation, which experience shows to be contrary to the true principles of trade and finance.

The revenue which government draws from the company is very considerable; and equity requires that the proprietors, who have suffered so much, should soon feel the good effects of the present opulence of the company.

I must, moreover, add, that although I am the apostle of peace, and recommend it invariably to the European powers, yet this doctrine is liable to some exceptions in India, in the present situation of the English there; but I will not enter at present into the reasons on which I ground my opinion. The English and Dutch, without seeking to embroil themselves in a war in India, ought always to be ready to support the weight of one in Java, Ceylon, the Moluccas, Bengal, and on the coast of Coromandel.

After the sketch which has been given of the power of England, of her riches, opulence, and resources, it appears probable that the revolt of New England, far from undermining the strength of the mother-country, will, on the contrary, strengthen it the more, and though it might perhaps be her interest to abandon the colonies, she ought not to do it, because it would lower her in the eyes of the rest of Europe, as the impunity of the rebels, and the giving up of the colonies would be attributed either to timidity or want of power.

These are my general ideas, on which conjectures may be formed. If this writing should by chance fall into the hands of those ministers of state, whose ways of thinking and acting influence the fate of nations, I flatter myself, that my principles may produce effects useful to humanity



manity in general, and to some states in particular. My great aim in all my writings has always been, to cure national hatred, and to remove those jealousies which are the springs of it, and which are always founded on interest ill understood. I think I have proved this to a demonstration in my letter on the Jealousy of Commerce: I have seen, with pleasure, some celebrated authors adopt and improve upon the principles there established. I should with still more pleasure see sovereigns convinced of those truths, as there would certainly result from thence the greatest benefit to humanity.

F I N I S.



